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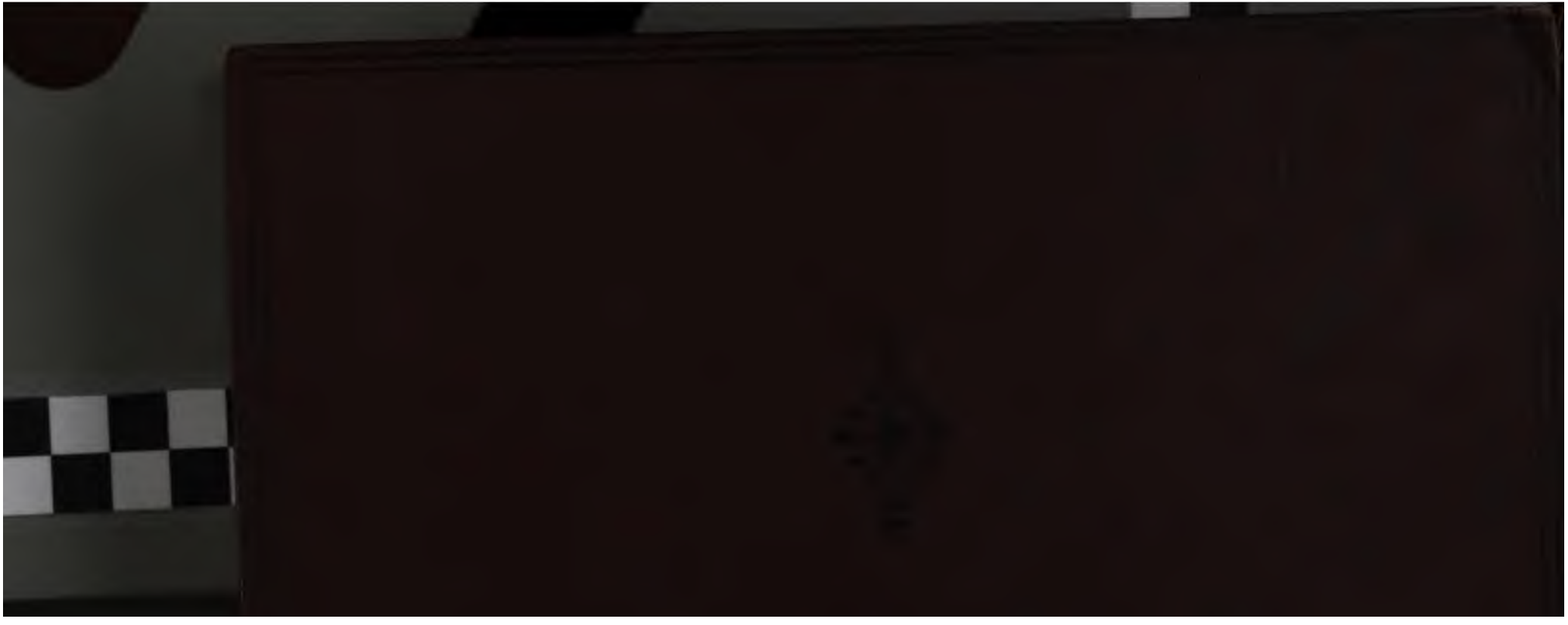

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MEMOIRS

OF THE

DUCHESS DE TOURZEL,

GOVERNESS TO THE CHILDREN OF FRANCE DURING THE YEARS 1789, 1790, 1791, 1792, 1793, and 1795.

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MEMOIRS

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THE YEAR 1791—THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

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THE Assembly inaugurated its sittings by a debate on the mode of taking the oath exacted from the deputies. It was unanimously agreed that the oath should be taken on the Constitution, which had become the New Testament of the French; that it should be conveyed in great state from the national

archives; that it should be carried by six old men, and that at the moment when it entered the hall, everybody should rise and remain standing with uncovered head. It was proposed, by way of doing it still more honour, to receive it with a salute, but in the end the first idea prevailed. It was received with shouts of "Long live the Constitution!" and the oath was taken by each deputy with his hand placed on the sacred volume. This Constitution, so solemnly sworn, and destined to be so short-lived, was brought back to the national archives with the same ceremony.

A debate then ensued on the manner of receiving the King when he came to the Assembly—whether it would not be correct, in speaking to him, to suppress the title of Majesty and substitute that of King of the French; and on this subject some reflections were indulged in which were by no means respectful to the royal authority. In the end, however, the customary title was preserved in reporting the decree which had already been pronounced, in consideration of the bad effect which would be produced on the public mind; but a declaration was made that all superiority should be recognised as belonging to the Assembly, and that the seat of the King should be at the right of that of the President, and should be in every way similar to it. It was subsequently agreed that nobody should rise except for the moment of the arrival of the King, and that nobody should uncover until he himself had done so.

This ceremonial was strictly observed. The King arrived, and represented the necessity of giving to the administration all the strength and authority necessary for the maintenance of peace in the kingdom; and of paying serious attention to the finances, and the means of levying and collecting the taxes, for the purpose of securing the freedom of the state and the comfort of the people. He pointed out the necessity of simplifying the procedure; of attending to public education; of encouraging commerce and industry; of protecting general freedom of belief and of property, in order by these means to remove all pretext for leaving a kingdom in which the law was in full force, and both law and property were held in respect.

He promised, for his part, to neglect nothing that could tend to the re-establishment of military and naval discipline, so necessary for the protection of commerce and the colonies; and he added that the steps he had taken to promote peace and harmony with foreign Powers gave him every hope that his tranquillity would not be disturbed.

M. Pastoret, President of the Assembly, replied to this speech by a pompous eulogy of the Constitution, which, far from damaging the royal power, gave it a more solid basis, and rendered the King the greatest monarch in the world; and he assured his Majesty that his union with the Assembly for the full and unrestricted execution of the Constitution would fulfil the wishes of the French nation, whose blessings would be its fruit.

The acceptance of the Constitution did not restore peace to France, and very shortly afterwards disturbances commenced in La Vendée by reason of religious persecutions. Commissioners were despatched thither, among others Goupilleau de Fontenay, who, knowing the country well, induced the Assembly to adopt mild measures in connection with a population who only wanted freedom of belief, by undertaking the expense of their worship, adding that the population was moreover simple, submissive to the law, and by nature docile.

M. Thévenard, Minister of Marine, having tendered his resignation, was replaced by M. Bertrand. The deep attachment of the latter for the King, and his very determined character, were sufficient reasons to draw upon him the hatred of the Assembly, whose ignominious flatterer he declined to be. He consequently got into disgrace very speedily, notwithstanding his extreme care to avoid everything that could wound the pride of its members, and to secure punctual compliance with all the clauses of the Constitution.

By the advice of this Minister the King wrote a letter with his own hands, countersigned by Bertrand, to all naval Commanders, exhorting them by the most sacred motives not to abandon their posts, but to be actuated by the duty they owed to their country and their King under the existing difficult circumstances. But, in order that their presence might be of use, it was necessary to sup-

press that spirit of insurbordination, fostered by the Assembly, which made it impossible for the officers to secure obedience, and consequently rendered them powerless to do any good.

M. du Portail wished to imitate the conduct of M. Bertrand, in regard to the officers of the Army, in spite of the scanty confidence he inspired, as he was regarded as the promoter of insurrection on account of his motion for the admission of soldiers into all the clubs of the kingdom.

M. de Lessart also in his turn issued a proclamation to induce the *emigrés* to return to France, assuring them that the King would only regard as real friends those who would return to their country, where their presence was so necessary; pointing out to them, moreover, that if their attachment to his person had made them hesitate to take an oath which they considered incompatible with their duty, the conduct of his Majesty deprived them of any pretext for refusal.

But the conduct of the Assembly was anything but calculated to support the request of the King, and to persuade the *emigrés* of the utility of their return. Consequently, this proclamation was far from producing the effect anticipated by M. de Lessart.

The Assembly took advantage of a mistake which had retarded the release of the four soldiers charged with insubordination, to indulge in a declamation against Ministers. A petition of miscreants de-

tained in prison gave an opportunity for the most violent insults.

A wish was expressed that Ministers should from time to time present themselves at the bar of the House to give account of their conduct, and from the commencement of the sitting everything pointed to the impossibility of their exercising their functions as Ministers. The object of the Assembly was to disgust the genuine servants of the King, by depriving them of all means of serving him, and to force his Majesty to replace them by friends and creatures of their own.

M. de Montmorin, not being able to put up with the imperious manner with which the Assembly treated the Ministers, and the daily insults which they had to endure, tendered his resignation, which was accepted. M. de Lessart, Minister of the Interior, was entrusted with his portfolio, pending the appointment of his successor. The King communicated this to the Assembly, as well as the appointments of MM. Geoffroy, de Bonnaire de Forges, Boucaut, Gilbert des Mollières, and Desjobert as Commissioners of the Treasury.

M. Tarbé had suggested them to his Majesty, who accepted them without hesitation. This Minister was sincerely attached to the King; I had occasion to see him, and he spoke to me of his Majesty in the most touching manner. He was persuaded of the necessity of making his authority respected without compromising his person; and, by

way of achieving that object, of only bestowing office on men who were experienced, and capable of adequately discharging their duties, so that the country might appreciate the difference between those elected by the King and those chosen by the Assembly. But the persecution which that body inflicted on those who did not share its delirium frequently rendered this wise precaution of no avail.

The King likewise informed the Assembly of his having selected MM. de Brissac, d'Hervilly, and de Pont-l'Abbé to command his Constitutional Guard; the first as commander-in-chief, the second to command the cavalry, and the third the infantry. The frank, loyal, and honourable conduct of the Duke de Brissac had won for him general esteem, and those who did not share his opinions could not help respecting him. The other two were excellent officers, whose reputations left nothing to desire; these selections were, therefore, generally approved of. I knew M. de Pont-l'Abbé only slightly, but I was intimate with M. d'Hervilly, whose devotion to the King was boundless, and I shall have occasion to speak of him in the course of these Memoirs.

Although M. de Montmorin had left the Ministry, he was charged by the King with communicating to the Assembly the notification he had made to the powers of Europe of his acceptance of the Constitution, and the replies he had received. They were in the same sense as all the letters written to the King subsequently to his return from

Varennes, and his Ministers at foreign courts were directed to lay great stress to the Powers on the necessity imposed on the King to accept a Constitution in favour of which the wish of the people had been so strongly expressed; that the King, who only had in view the welfare of his subjects, would have his every wish accomplished if the restrictions placed on his authority fulfilled the end which the Assembly had set before it; that the imperfections that might be noticed in the Constitution had been foreseen, and that there was every reason to hope that they might be remedied without exposing France to a fresh shock.

The King of Spain replied that he was far from wishing to disturb the peace of France, but that he could not believe in the spontaneous acceptance of the Constitution by the King, his cousin, so long as he did not see him away from Paris and the persons suspected of doing him violence.

The King of Sweden, with his usual frankness, declared that as the King of France was not free, he could not recognise any mission on the part of France.

The other Powers only spoke of their desire to see the happiness of the King resulting from all the sacrifices he had made for that of France; but as they only spoke very succinctly of the nation, they were far from satisfying the Assembly, even more intoxicated with its own power than the one which had preceded it.

M. de Montmorin assured it that it had nothing to fear from foreign Powers, and that the tranquillity of France was due to the King, but that to secure its maintenance the law must be put in force, and the abuse of inflammatory publications, which daily placed obstacles in its way, must be made to cease.

Goupilleau and Audrein complained of M. de Montmorin not having reported the state of his negotiations with Switzerland for the inclusion of the Châteauvieux deserters in the amnesty granted to the French deserters. "Although he has left the Ministry," exclaimed one of the members of the Assembly, "he is none the less responsible. The responsibility of Ministers must not be a mere bugbear." This remark was applauded by the majority of the members of the Assembly.

During the month that the sittings had been in progress, very little transpired that was not calculated to distress the heart of the King, and to prove to him the impossiblity of expecting any good result. The conduct of the Assembly on the occasion of the Avignon massacres was in itself enough to destroy every hope.

The town of Arles, threatened by the brigands who laid waste the Comtat of Avignon, resolved upon resistance. It informed the Assembly of its resolve to defend itself rather than be the victim of the fury of these miscreants. The renewed disturbances at Avignon might have legalised this resistance, even in the eyes of the Assembly.

The brigands, with Antonelle at their head, not content with their earliest successes, wanted to possess themselves of the spoils of the monasteries and churches of Avignon. They stole from them everything of value, and sold it to the Jews; they broke up the bells, and wound up by seizing on the money in the *Mont-de-piété*. The departure from the town of so many articles of value gave rise to serious murmuring. Lécuyer, one of the leaders of these bandits, thought that they might take advantage of this to excite a rising which they could attribute to those who were opposed to the union of the Comtat with France. By this means they would succeed in getting rid of their enemies, and in avoiding having to give any account of the valuables they had seized. But, mistaken in his idea, he himself became the victim of his perfidy.

A large number of the malcontents, who were joined by a band of women, assembled in the Franciscan Church, and summoned Lécuyer and his accomplices to surrender on the spot. Lécuyer dared not refuse. Urged by this assemblage to give an account of the valuables they had seized, terror took hold of him; he lost his head, and attempted to escape. By doing this he roused the fury of the ringleaders of the mob, who threw themselves on him and tore him in pieces.

The brigands of Savians, to avenge his death, massacred ninety inhabitants of Avignon, whom they had kept in prison since the 21st of August. Whole

families shared the same fate in their own houses, and every hour brought news of fresh disasters. The Abbé Mulot and M. Lescène des Maisons were denounced for having opposed such horrors, and for having, though in vain, sent a request to M. de Ferrière for the soldiers he had at his disposal. This person was not ashamed to protect these brigands, and to allow them quietly to commit crimes which made nature shudder. These monsters, being unwilling to allow the number of their victims to become known, opened an ice-house, into which they cast pell-mell the dead and dying, among whom were women and children, as they did not even spare them in their barbarity.

Rovère, the so-called deputy of Avignon, who was associated with Jourdan, Manvielle, Tournel, Raphael, and other brigands of the Comtat, took upon himself the task of excusing these miscreants, and he denounced the Abbé Mulot and Lescène des Maisons for not having given them the necessary support, and for having, on the contrary, protected their victims. "They imitated the French," he said, "by fighting for liberty, and they have been punished by exile or death." Vergniaud was not ashamed to reply, "Your constituents are our friends, and a nation cannot regain its liberty without passing through the horrors of anarchy." He then promised justice and peace, and to Rovère were accorded the honours of the sitting.

The Pope, dispossessed of the sovereignty of the

Comtat by such iniquitous means, issued a manifesto complaining of this violation of public right. In it he dealt at length with the stratagem that had been employed, and the crimes committed to bring about the union, and he sent copies of the manifesto to all the Powers of Europe.

CHAPTER II.

THE YEAR 1791—REVOLT OF THE COLONIES OF SAN DOMINGO.

THE King was not destined to experience a single moment of consolation. Every day brought the most disastrous news from all parts of the kingdom, and the intelligence of the revolt of the Colonies filled the measure of his distress to the brim. The decree of the Constituent Assembly of the 15th of May, which impaired that passed in the preceding November relative to the Colonies, added to the proceedings of the Commissioners despatched by the friends of the negroes, so roused the latter that they revolted against the whites, under the pretext of having an equal share with them in the government. And as nothing ever stops uneducated people, the essence of whose character is violence, they committed the greatest excesses. Thirty thousand of them were in full revolt, and they had already burnt eighteen sugar plantations and massacred three hundred whites. They had established a camp six miles from the cape, with entrenchments lined with

cannon. Everybody was a prey to the deepest anxiety. The dissensions sown among the Colonists by the various decrees increased the danger to a still greater extent.

Letters from Havre announced that the shops were closed and that consternation was general. The King heard the news of this insurrection with the greatest sorrow, and at once informed the Assembly of it. Brissot, Condorcet, and the friends of the blacks began by doubting the truth of the news, which, they said, might be a desire of the Colonists to increase the yoke of their unfortunate slaves, and for a long time they discussed the necessity of waiting for some information of it. But letters received from various business establishments in the principal ports of the kingdom, left no doubt as to the existence of this terrible insurrection, which was, moreover, confirmed by M. Barthélemy, Chargé d'Affaires in London.

He had, besides, received information from letters sent direct to England, that a portion of the troops had joined the insurgents. The unfortunate Colonists had asked the English and the Spaniards for help; but they, needing their troops to secure their own possessions against a similar insurrection, were unable to spare any. The English alone had at once supplied five hundred muskets and four hundred lbs. of bullets, with permission to purchase powder and other munitions.

The Colonists and proprietors of houses in San

Domingo met at once at the Hôtel de Massiac, and there drew up an address, asking the King to despatch prompt assistance, in order, if there was yet time, to stop the disasters which threatened the remainder of the Colony. This address depicted in the most touching terms the disasters of San Domingo. It accused the society of the friends of the blacks of sowing the seeds of discord in that unhappy country; it attributed to them the surprise sprung on religion by the National Assembly when it passed the fatal decree of the 15th of May, which was to be regarded as the cause of the disasters in San Domingo, and it concluded by stating that if this revolt was not promptly suppressed, it would bring about the ruin of six million Frenchmen and the commerce of France, the ruin of which could not be separated from that of the Colonists; that their cause was identical with that of the creditors of the State, who like themselves were exposed by this occurrence to the loss of their fortunes through universal bankruptcy. The Colonists begged the King, as the supreme head of the executive power, and the hereditary protector of property, to take the Colonies under his safeguard, and to oppose his authority to the fresh assaults of these men, who were labouring to increase our misfortunes, and in regard to whom they demanded the strictest investigation and the most stringent justice.

This address, signed by the principal proprietors of San Domingo, was presented to the King by Colonists dressed in mourning, and headed by M.

du Cormier, who was looked upon as a man of distinguished merit. The King with much emotion replied that he was filled with sorrow for the state of the Colony of San Domingo; that, as he had no direct news from it, he had flattered himself that the disasters were not so extreme as they had been described; that he was occupying himself without cessation with remedial measures to the utmost extent of his power; that he was pushing them on as rapidly as possible; and that they might assure the Colonists and the Colony of the deep interest he took in their fate.

The Colonists then went to the Queen, and addressed her Majesty as follows:—"Madame, in our great misfortune we have need of seeing your Majesty in order to find some comfort in our unhappiness, and a great example of courage. The Colonists commend themselves to the protection of your Majesty." "Rest assured, gentlemen, of the deep interest I take in your misfortunes," replied the Queen, who was so deeply moved that she could not finish her speech. But when meeting the members of the same deputation as they went away, she said, in most feeling tones, "Gentlemen, my silence will tell you more than any words could do." They also received from Madame Elizabeth assurances of her very sincere interest.

The whole of the Royal Family experienced the greatest sorrow on account of this frightful catastrophe, a sorrow which was increased by the con-

viction that the Assembly would place obstacles in the way of the measures the King was about to adopt in aid of this unfortunate Colony.

Mgr. the Dauphin, to whom the Queen had in a few words narrated the disasters of San Domingo, and who had heard of the admiration expressed by M. du Cormier of her Majesty's courage, asked her to give him her speech. "What do you want to do with it?" said the Queen to him. "I will put it in my left pocket, which is nearest my heart." The young Prince was always charming to the Queen, and never lost an opportunity of saying tender and loving things to her. She was passionately fond of him, never spoiling him, but reproving him whenever she considered him in fault.

The news received from M. de Blanchelande, Governor of San Domingo, confirmed only too clearly the dreaded disasters.

The King communicated it at once to the Assembly, which requested his Majesty to give an account of the assistance required by the condition of the Colonies. The King, who had previously gone with M. Bertrand into all that was allowed under the Constitution, asked the Assembly for 10,000,000 francs, and informed it that he had given orders for the commissioning of the vessels and the embarkation of the troops necessary. "Do not," exclaimed Isnard, "grant the 10,000,000 francs before the report of the Colonial Committee." This report was allowed to drag its slow length along, while immediate help

alone could save the Colony. A grant of 3,000,000 francs only was made for present necessities.

The commercial community of Havre and other ports of the kingdom offered all their ships that were armed for the transport of troops. But the Assembly found means to paralyse the efforts of the King, and its culpable negligence caused the ruin of these precious Colonies, and with it the ruin of the commerce of France.

The decree of the Assembly of the 7th of December, which limited the despatch of troops to the suppression of the revolt of the negroes, and confirmed the rights granted to the coloured population, took away from the Colonists their last hope. The latter once more addressed the King, asking him to come to their assistance. But the unhappy Prince, who saw himself day after day deprived of some portion of his weak authority, could only groan over their misfortunes, and grieve over those which were being prepared for France by the ring-leaders of the new Assembly.

The rebels made attempts to extend the revolt to Martinique, St Lucia, and Tobago; but their efforts were rendered futile by the courage of the inhabitants of the various islands, who, frightened by the example of their neighbours, placed themselves in a position to repress every attempt. They unanimously declared that they would rather perish than witness the introduction into their Colonies of a *régime* which had led to such cruel disasters in

San Domingo; their firmness saved them. They were also under great obligation to the Viscount de Damas, who courageously opposed the designs of the malevolent. They expressed the greatest regret at his recall to France, and the satisfaction they experienced on hearing of his safe arrival there.

M. de la Jaille, a very distinguished naval officer, whom the King had appointed to the command of the ships sent to San Domingo to assist the Colonists, was assailed on his arrival at Brest by a mob subsidised to shout that a counter-revolutionist had been sent there to massacre the patriots. He would have been torn in pieces had it not been for the courage of a pork butcher, who warded off the blows aimed at him. The Municipality could not discover any other way of restoring order than by imprisoning M. de la Jaille; and the Assembly, in praising its conduct, was careful to guard itself against any disapproval of that of the mob led astray by the promoters of all these riots.

CHAPTER III.

THE YEAR 1791.

Persecution of the unsworn priests—Insults heaped upon them by the Assembly, and Decree pronounced against them—Debate about the *emigrés*, and the law that resulted from it—Appointment of M. Cayer de Gerville as Minister of Interior, and of Count Louis de Narbonne as Minister of War—Steps taken by the King in connection with the Foreign Powers to put an end to the gatherings of *emigrés*, and his want of success—Denunciation of Ministers—Péthion appointed Mayor of Paris, and Manuel named Procureur of the Commune.

THERE were very few sittings in which mention was omitted of the unsworn priests, who were persecuted with implacable hatred by the sworn priests who had been made bishops. Accusations poured in from all sides, and though they were unsupported by proofs, they were none the less favourably received. In spite of the peaceableness of their conduct, they were accused of being the moving spirits of all the insurrections. Chabot, a Capucin, and Lequinio, one of the most violent demagogues of the Assembly, were their principal accusers. Le Josne, who was the equal of these men in every way, imputed to the priests all the misfortunes of

France; he wanted to compel them to go to the chief towns in their respective Departments, with an injunction to report themselves every day to their Directory. Vaublanc, although opposed to the demagogues, was in favour of treating them as fanatics. Everything pointed to a violent persecution. Baert, who could not be suspected of any attachment to the clergy, rebelled against this injustice, and argued that as the Constitution had decreed freedom of worship, the priests ought to remain unmolested, and that a chapel should be granted to them, even in the towns, wherein to perform their worship, on a request from three hundred citizens. "Provided," added Rougemont, "that the expenses are defrayed by the devout women." Baert at the same time moved that in order to obviate any debate, the Assembly should decide upon the mode of the civil registry of births, deaths, and marriages, and that an end should be put to a persecution as odious as it was contrary to the liberty decreed by the Constitution and enjoyed by all other religions.

The Abbé Fauchet made use of the most bloodthirsty expressions against the unsworn priests, demanding that their salaries should be taken away from them, and he compared them to wolves driven out of the woods by hunger. He added that there was no fear of the King coming to their assistance, because he was sure to be very glad of being rid of such vermin.

Isnard, still more violent, described them as pestilent fellows who sold Heaven to crime. "Punish them for the slightest faults," he said in his rage, "and condemn them even to death when you can convict them, or at any rate transport them. The French Revolution needs a *dénoûment*, for the people are beginning to free themselves from public interests. Provoke arrests, fight battles, crush everything with your victories. You must not stand on ceremony at the beginning of a revolution. It is lucky that Louis XVI. has not acted thus, for if he had, you would not be here, and if it were not for this severity, you would be the first victims." It was moved that this speech should be printed, and sent to the Departments. Ducrot, although a Constitutional bishop, opposed the printing, and insisted on the danger of propagating such principles. Shouts of, "To the bar with the priest!" applauded by the galleries, silenced him. Quatremer and other deputies wanted to support his arguments, but they did not obtain a more favourable hearing.

Torné, a Constitutional bishop, instead of accusing the unsworn priests of the misfortunes of France, placed the root of the evil in the Constitution and the Government, which was insane enough to weaken its own authority until it might be looked upon as paralysed. He opposed the suppression of the incomes of the unsworn priests, a measure which, if it was not equivalent to theft, was at all events worthy of corsairs. He declared that the sacraments ad-

ministered in houses should be held to be as lawful as balls, entertainments of magic, or other amusements; that the unsworn priest should be at liberty to be absurd in his belief, implacable in his hatred, and at variance with his rivals in doctrine; but that he must abstain from all sedition, on pain of bringing upon himself the vengeance of the law. "No punishment without judgment," he added, "and no judgment without trial." This sitting, as indecent as it was stormy, was brought to a conclusion by a resolution directing the Committee to divide into four sections, for the purpose of bringing forward a bill against the priests.

After a long debate on the decree to be laid before the Assembly, that of François de Neufchâteau was selected. The preamble consisted of a comparison of a field filled with venomous reptiles which a father of a family wished to destroy, and not to nourish with his blood, and the result of this pretty comparison was the following proposition. "Within a week the unsworn priests shall take the civic oath, and in case of refusal or retractation, they shall be deprived of their pensions, held to be suspected of revolt against the law, and evil intentions against the country, and removed from places where disturbances take place."

Two or three blackguards would excite disorder, the blame of it would be thrown on the unsworn priests, and a denunciation sufficed to banish them or put them in irons. All good men were invited

to rally against religious fanaticism, and to defend the people against the snares laid for them under the guise of religious opinions. The voices raised against this decree, on the ground of its being unconstitutional, were drowned in the applause of the Assembly, and it was accepted by the majority and submitted for the sanction of the King.

There were, however, remonstrances from some of the Departments against the injustice of such a decree; that of Paris especially prayed the King to withhold his sanction from a decree as unjust as it was unconstitutional.

The clubs, more powerful than ever, and the tribunes, which they had taken care to crowd with their adherents, were still a weapon of which the rebels made use. They sent brigands throughout all the sections of Paris to get up protests against the resolution of the Department, presaging the direst misfortunes if the King withheld his sanction to this decree. His Majesty, having made up his mind not to sanction it, paid no attention to their threats, or to the anger of the Assembly when it was informed of his refusal.

This decree, although not sanctioned, was carried into effect in the departments under the influence of the Jacobins. In them the persecution was violent. It redoubled in force when it became known that the King had refused his sanction. It was one of the schemes of the Jacobins to bring forward unjust decrees, in order to depreciate his

Majesty by their acceptance, or to blame his refusal to accept them for the disturbances in which they themselves were the prime movers.

The conduct of the Assembly was not calculated to support the invitation of the King to the *emigrés* to return to France. They had not been a month in session, when they directed the Committees to consider a bill in reference to the *emigrés*, and especially the French Princes. M. de Candorcet, after a speech as vague as it was insignificant, maintained that they could not remove their wealth or bear arms against the country without being regarded as traitors and assassins. He described the Princes and the nobility as "the dregs of the nation," who were audacious enough still to consider themselves the *élite*, and he proposed to decree that every Frenchman who had taken the civic oath should be free to remain abroad; but that every *emigré* who, besides this oath, should not take another promising not to bear arms against the nation or the constituted powers, should be declared an enemy of the nation, and should have his property confiscated or sequestrated. It was resolved at the same time that a bill should be introduced to regulate the situation of the wives, children, and creditors of the said *emigrés.*

Vergniaud compared them to pigmies fighting against the Titans, and implored the King not to listen to his feelings in regard to objects dear to his heart, but to imitate the example of Brutus

in immolating his children for the good of his country.

In order to reconcile the law about the *emigrés* with the violation of the Constitution, Pastoret proposed to throw a veil for the moment over liberty, quoting the suspension of the *habeas corpus* by the English, and regarding the princes and the nobility merely as malcontents who could not accustom themselves to see intrigue and opulence excluded from the first rank, and replaced by talent and virtue. Shortly after this fine speech he was appointed a Member of Public Instruction, together with Condorcet, Cerutti, and the Abbé Fauchet.

M. de Girardin moved that first of all the Assembly should, within three days, issue a proclamation compelling Monsieur to return to France within two months, under pain of being held to have abdicated his right to the regency. Ramond moved that time should be given for the discussion of so important a question; but M. de Girardin opposed this, and the motion was declared urgent.

As soon as the three days were passed, Isnard ascended the tribune, stigmatised the Princes as conspirators, and censured the cowardice of those who were afraid of passing sentence on them. "It is time," he said, "to give force to equality; the lasting impunity of great criminals has made the people butchers. The anger of nations, like that of God, is too frequently only the terrible supplement to the silence of the law." The motion

of M. de Girardin was passed, and placarded all over Paris.

The considerations of the general law relating to *emigrés* was then resumed. Each sitting had an accompaniment of abuse and declamation against them, and the end was a decree of death against all Frenchmen who should be on the 1st of January still assembled. Their property was declared to be sequestrated for the benefit of the nation, without prejudice to the rights of their wives, children, and creditors. The same decree enunciated capital punishment in the case of the French Princes and public functionaries taking part in these assemblies who should not have returned to France by the 1st of January; it ordered the sequestration of the property of the Princes, forbidding any payment of income to them, under a penalty of twenty years under restraint to all who ordered such payments; and the deposition and loss of income to every public functionary absent without legitimate cause, both before and after the amnesty. A similar punishment was enacted against every public functionary who should leave the kingdom without permission from the Minister of his department. General officers, commanding officers, and subalterns were included in this. Every military officer abandoning his duties without leave or resignation was to be considered a deserter, and punished as such; and every recruiting agent within or without the kingdom was also to be punished with death.

The Assembly, moreover, charged the Diplomatic Committee to bring before it the steps to be taken in regard to foreign princes who permitted assemblies in their states, and to beg the King to sanction them. It concluded the clauses of this decree by declaring that all laws contravening it were annulled.

The Keeper of the Privy Seal brought the sanction of the King to the decree concerning Monsieur, and his refusal to that relating to the priests and *emigrés;* and when he wished to make some observations on his refusal, the Assembly opposed it, and there was a frightful row. "So much the better," exclaimed Cambon; "by this the King proves to Europe that he is free amid his people."

The Jacobins rained petitions on the Assembly from all sides, deploring the *veto* placed by the King on the decree relating to the priests and *emigrés.* They roused the public against the King and the royal family, whom they accused of protecting the enemies of the country. Women even mixed themselves up with these remonstrances, and did their best to persuade the people that the refusal of the King would result in the greatest misfortunes to the nation, whose greatest enemies were kings and priests.

The pamphlets circulated against the refusal of the sanction of the King induced the Ministers to make him issue fresh proclamations, and to write to the Princes his brothers to entreat them to return,

and not to cast any doubt upon his pronounced wish to observe the Constitution and compel its observance. They thought it advisable to circulate these letters and proclamations among the public; but they produced no effect, and the disturbances and persecutions which increased throughout France, still further increased the tide of emigration.

The Assembly, in addition, decreed that every Frenchman deriving pay, pension, or income from the national treasury should be compelled to present himself in person, with a certificate, countersigned by the Municipality of his residence, and by the Directory, to prove that he had been resident in the French Empire for six months. No assignment or transfer was valid without a similar certificate on the part of buyer and seller. Merchants alone were exempted from this law, on their proving that they were carrying on their business before the decree.

The King appointed M. Cayer de Gerville Minister of Interior, and M. de Lessart remained Minister of Foreign Affairs. M. Cayer de Gerville was a lawyer and an ultra-revolutionist. He was sent to Nancy on the occasion of the revolt of the regiments, and was full of vanity and susceptibility. He ended, however, by conceiving an attachment for the person of the King; but his Majesty was obliged to be very circumspect with him, for fear of wounding his self-love, to which was joined vulgarity truly revolutionary. M. du Portail, Minister of War, not being able to put up with the insults hurled at him day after day,

tendered his resignation, and was replaced by Count Louis de Narbonne. This individual, full of presumption, and believing himself to be summoned to a great destiny, gladly accepted a ministerial post. The levity of his disposition did not allow of his calculating the obstacles which he must necessarily encounter. Convinced that this post gave him the means of satisfying his ambition, and even placed him in a position to procure for the King more than one happy chance of extricating himself from his cruel position, he set himself to work to realise the hopes he had conceived. A war was the means he thought most favourable to the end he had in view, and he did his best to persuade the Assembly to undertake one, under the pretext of avenging the nation on foreign Powers for the insults paid to it.

Intoxicated by his silly hopes, and fully persuaded of his great ability, he presented himself one day to the Queen, and handed to her a memorandum to prove to her the necessity of making a formidable stand against the threats of foreign Powers. He insisted on the gain which France would reap from a war which would acquaint those Powers with the strength of a nation which had regained its liberty, and he then tried to persuade the Queen of the advantage which would accrue to the King from the appointment of a Prime Minister who, to personal attachment, would unite experience and the capacity and the art of persuasion necessary for the recall of those who were led astray. "He should also," he

added, "have tact enough to engage the nation in a war which it should be made to look upon as national, so that he might succeed in finding means to restore to the King the authority necessary for the happiness of France." "And where are we to find such a man?" asked the Queen. "I think, as my friends believe, that you might find such an one in myself, and that you might convey this suggestion to the King." "You are joking," replied the Queen, with a burst of laughter. "What are you thinking about when you make such a proposal to me?" Then, taking a serious tone, she showed him that his request was in direct opposition to the Constitution.

I have this anecdote from the mouth of her Majesty. I do not know if this conversation became known, but a few days afterwards a caricature was current in Paris, representing M. de Narbonne with the head of a linnet, the title of which was, The bird-witted Minister.

The Assembly, controlled by the Jacobins, appointed as Members of the Vigilance Committee Isnard, Bazire, Merlin, Grangeneuve, Panchet, Gonpilleau de Fontenai, Chabot, Lecointre de Versailles, Lacroix, Lacretelle, Quinette, and Chauvelot; and as assistants, Antonelle, Mayor of Arles, Jagault, and Montaut. These men soon set to work. Three of them having tendered their resignations, nearly all of them eventually perished under the revolutionary axe, condemned by their fellows. For as soon as the miscreants were masters of the situation,

they broke up into various factions, and each faction, as it gained the upper hand, sent to the scaffold the one opposed to it.

As the Ministers thought it would be an advantage for the King to reply in person to the request made by the Assembly, that he should consider the steps to be taken to prevent assemblies abroad which fostered the uneasiness in France, and made war preferable to a ruinous and debasing peace, the King went to assure it that he would leave no stone unturned to comply with its wishes. "But," he added, "before resolving upon war, we must employ every possible means to preserve France from the incalculable evils which war cannot fail to produce in the first moments of an attempt made by a Constitutional Government." He held out a hope of finding a faithful ally in the person of the Emperor, who was disposed to prevent the assemblies which disturbed the nation. He added that, with this end in view, he was going to announce to the Elector of Trèves and the other neighbouring princes that if, before the 15th of January, they had not put a stop to such assemblies, he should regard them as the enemies of France; and he hoped in this respect much from the intervention of the Emperor. If he should not succeed in his endeavours, he would declare war; but it was necessary to take into consideration the means of assuring a successful result by restoring the national credit, by giving to the deliberations of the Assembly definite and imposing

progress, and by so conducting affairs as to prove that the King was at one with the representatives of the nation; that, so far as he was concerned, nothing should make him relax in his efforts to constitute the law as the support of the citizen and the terror of the disturbers of public order; that he would faithfully guard the trust of the Constitution, without suffering it to be attacked, as he felt how good a thing it was to be the King of a free people. This last sentence clearly proved that the speech was the work of those who had dictated everything written by the King subsequent to his return from Varennes. All this conciliation in reply to so many outrages, instead of mollifying the rebels, only made them more violent.

The Assembly replied that it would consider the proposals of the King, although he had not made any; and M. de Narbonne, then getting up to speak, demanded the levy of three armies, and the necessary funds, and proposed as Commanders in-Chief MM. de Luckner, de Rochambeau, and de la Fayette. He expressed a hope that the nation would in its struggle against the Powers be in no way inferior to what it was in the reign of Louis XIV., adding that it was necessary to prove to them, by the order reigning in the kingdom, that they had to deal with a nation desirous of, and bent upon preserving liberty.

The denunciations against Ministers nevertheless increased day by day. The Abbé Fauchet

attacked M. de Lessart in the most violent manner, attributing the massacres of Avignon to the delay in the despatch of the decree of the union of the Comtat with France, and he demanded that the Ministers should be formally accused. His request was referred to a committee for report; but M. de Lessart proved so conclusively that he was not guilty, that the matter dropped.

Péthion was appointed Mayor of Paris, Manuel was made *Procureur-syndic* of the Commune, and every post was filled by creatures of the Jacobins. It was impossible to avoid shuddering at the rapidity with which they gained their ends. Every measure exacted by the Assembly from the King had for its object his depreciation, especially that repeating the request made to the Swiss Cantons for a pardon to be granted to the Châteauvieux deserters.

M. de Narbonne, in order to give further proof of his patriotism to the Assembly, conceived the idea of exacting from the six Marshals of France, still resident in France, an oath still more constitutional than the civic oath decreed by the Assembly. But it was declined by MM. de Beauvau, de Noailles, de Mouchi, de Laval, and de Contades; and one alone, M. de Ségur, complied with the request of the Minister.

The decrees promulgated against the *emigrés* made no impression on them. On the other hand, the replies of foreign Powers to the various requests

of the King, by the wishes they expressed that he might find in the Constitution the happiness he expected from it, irritated the Assembly, which was daily more inflated by a power which it daily sought to increase.

CHAPTER IV.

THE YEAR 1792.

Decree of the Assembly to release the Châteauvieux Regiment from the galleys—Persecution of the Officers faithful to the King, and the plan of the Assembly to replace them by its creatures—Letter of the King to the Assembly forwarding that of the Emperor relative to the threats held out to the Elector of Trèves—Decree against the Princes, brothers of the King—Another Decree rendering the *emigrés* liable for the cost of the war—The empire gained by the Jacobins over all parts of France by reason of the terror they inspired—Demand to put in force the National High Court—Satisfactory but untruthful report of M. de Narbonne on the state of the Army—Brissot declares that no foreign Power could be relied upon—Fear of the Jacobins of an armed intervention of all the Powers for the maintenance of order in France—Establishment of the Constitutional Guard of the King.

THE Municipality having requested the Assembly to fix a day for it to receive its homage on the occasion of the New Year, M. Pastoret protested against such a vicious and unworthy custom on the part of an Assembly which desired no other homage than the welfare of the people, and obtained a decree forbidding the presentation of any such thing to anybody.

The Assembly being unable to obtain a pardon for the forty men of the Châteauvieux regiment

condemned to the galleys by the Swiss for their participation in the affair of Nancy, decreed the pardon itself, and secured their release, although they were condemned by the judgment of their own nation. Gaudet stated that this clemency would infuse fresh ardour into the Swiss regiments serving in France, and that it would only be displeasing to officers infected with aristocratic notions, and he added that, happily, armies were not composed of officers.

No stone was left unturned to disgust those officers who remained faithful to their duty and were suspected of being attached to the King. Every denunciation on the part of the soldiers was favourably listened to, and officers were placed in arrest on mere reports, unsupported by any proof. The insubordination of the soldiers, robbery from the military chest, and the imprisonment of officers, always found an excuse in the Assembly. The palpable plan of the rebels was to denude every regiment of its officers, and to replace them by their own creatures, so as to be able to dispose of the army when the opportunity should arise.

The violence of the Assembly and the absence of moderation in the threats used towards the Princes who were neighbours of France, if they continued to permit assemblies of *emigrés* in their states, determined the Emperor to write to M. de Noailles, the French Ambassador, by the hand of the Prince de Kaunitz, to inform him that he was

about to place his troops in a position to assist the Elector of Trèves, if the French indulged in any hostile act within the states of that Prince. The King himself wrote to the Assembly in forwarding this letter, in order to show it his astonishment at the conduct of the Emperor, assuring it, however, that he had not yet given up all hope of bringing him back to more pacific feelings; but that if, in spite of this, he persisted in refusing to compel the Elector to turn the *emigrés* out of his States, he should know how to maintain the justice of the cause of the French, as he regarded the maintenance of the national dignity as his most essential duty. It was easy to recognise once more in the style of this letter the handiwork of the same person who had dictated all those written by his Majesty.

The Assembly, while approving of this step, by no means paused in its proceedings against the Princes, brothers of the King, and M. de Candorcet made a long speech to serve as a preamble to the decree. He stated that the French nation would never take up arms to make new conquests, but simply to secure its liberty and cause its dignity to be respected, and that it would always be able to manage the people of the States with which it might be at war. This speech, interspersed with the ordinary abuse of the Princes, the nobility, the priests, and the *emigrés*, might be regarded as an earnest request for the desired treaty. In consequence of it, the Assembly decreed, on the 1st of January,

that there were grounds of accusation against Monsieur, Mgr. the Count d'Artois, Mgr. the Prince de Condé, and MM. de Bouillé, de Calonne, and Mirabeau the younger, whom it described under the name of Riquetti, out of respect to the great man who had borne that of Mirabeau with so much glory; and it directed the united diplomatic and legislative committees to bring forward within three days a draft bill of accusation, adding that the Minister of Foreign Affairs would be held responsible to supply them with all the notes and information he could collect from the agents of the nation in connection with the plans of the *emigrés*, and to denounce all who might assist the latter or neglect to inform the Government of the hostile arrangements they might have made or carried out at foreign courts.

Not content with this decree, the demagogues of the Assembly persuaded it, by most violent speeches, that the expenses of the war should be charged to the *emigrés*. Consequently it decreed a few days afterwards a triple tax on all their property, exclusive of the public worship and excise expenses—a measure which reduced their revenues to nothing, and succeeded in depriving them of the limited resources remaining to them. The Jacobins, who were not yet satisfied, despatched into the Provinces the actor d'Orfeuil, one of their most ardent disciples, to excite the people against the Princes, and to induce them to lay violent hands on their property.

Nothing could have been more alarming to the landed proprietors than the maxims expressed in the Assembly by the landless deputies, who only wanted to possess themselves of the spoil they coveted. All reasonable Frenchmen, whatever might be the bent of their political opinions, detested and despised this Assembly; but the terror inspired by the crimes it was capable of committing reduced everybody to obedience, while it turned to its own advantage the fear it knew so well how to opportunely employ.

The great majority of Frenchmen and Parisians were sincerely attached to the King; but, as they dared not resist the Jacobins, they allowed them to make such headway that they ended by subjugating not only the Assembly, but also the whole of France. They filled every post with their creatures, and crime cost them nothing. The people, fearing to become their victims by opposing their plans, ended by becoming so through their own cowardice and carelessness. The deputies themselves did not dare to oppose the decrees they provoked, though they were fully aware of their injustice. Their votes were frequently dictated by fear, as were also the praises they showered on the Assembly against the real wish of their hearts. The Minister of Justice having declared that it was indispensable for the organisation of the National High Court that the decree passed on the 15th of May in the previous year should be completed, it formulated one consisting

of eight clauses. The rebels raised the question as to whether or not it should be submitted for the sanction of the King. There were long debates on this subject: but it was proved so conclusively that they could not withhold their decrees from his Majesty without openly violating the Constitution, that, having no answer to make to this objection, or to that which demonstrated the injustice of leaving so many prisoners untried, the Assembly resolved to postpone the decree, leaving the High Court to decide as to what should be added to its organisation. And yet it enjoined the Minister of Justice to give an account to it within a week of the steps taken to put the High Court into working order. The power given to this Court would have been very dangerous if it had not by sheer good luck been composed of cool and reflecting heads, who, under various pretexts, delayed pronouncing the judgments demanded by the Assembly. The latter occupied itself entirely with the means of compelling the King to declare war against the foreign Powers, the rebels hoping to take advantage of this to establish anarchy more speedily, a state of things which would favour the cupidity and ambition they concealed under the veil of equality.

M. de Narbonne, who desired no less, made a most satisfactory report on the state of the army and the frontier fortresses. The only thing wanting in his report was the truth; but nobody cared about probing it to the bottom. He assured the Assembly

that France was in a position to defend herself against all her enemies; and that by re-establishing order at home, she would become so formidable a power that all the others would seek her. "The cause of the nobility," he added, "is as foreign to the King as to the people; let us make it lose its cause twice over, by taking possession of the generous virtues of which it believes itself to be in exclusive possession." At the request of the Assembly the King appointed MM. de Rochambeau, de Luckner, and de la Fayette to the command of the three decreed armies, and bestowed the bâtons of Marshals of France on the two former, although the Constitution limited the number to six. But he undertook not to fill up any vacancies until the number should be reduced to that fixed by law.

On this occasion Brissot made a long speech to prove that we could not rely upon any European Power; that they ought to be compelled to declare themselves; and that the Emperor should only have until the 10th of February to decide; that after that his silence should be regarded as an act of hostility; and that the King should be requested to hasten the preparations for war. Gensonné added that the Emperor should be summoned to declare if he would faithfully observe the treaty of 1766, assist France in case of hostilities by foreign Powers, and undertake nothing against the Constitution. This motion, which was loudly applauded, was accom-

panied by the usual abuse of foreign Powers, the aristocracy, and the *emigrés*.

M. de Lessart, in acquainting the Assembly with the promises of the Elector of Trèves to put a stop to the assemblies of the *emigrés*, and the orders he had issued to them to leave his States, entreated it not to persist in a declaration of war, but to use every effort in its power to preserve France from the evils which such a war would entail. But the Assembly was very far from giving heed to such advice.

The Jacobins, having been made acquainted with the desire entertained by the King of an armed intervention by all the Powers for the purpose of restoring order in France, and of putting an end to the anxiety which the violence of the Assembly caused them, incited the rebels to oppose this measure; and they, after indulging in the most violent invective against all Sovereigns, succeeded in passing a decree that the Assembly would look upon as infamous and guilty of treason to the nation any Frenchman who should take any part either directly or indirectly in a congress whose object was the modification of the Constitution, the nation being determined to maintain it or perish; and that the decree should be conveyed to the King, in order that he might notify to the Powers the resolve of the nation to make no change in the Constitution.

A frightful uproar ensued in the Assembly on the passing of this decree. Reiterated shouts were

heard, "The Constitution or death!" MM. de Lessart and Duport du Tertre were compelled to shout like everybody else, and they by doing so gained some applause.

The rebels were careful to allow no alterations to be made in the Constitution except those they made themselves, fearing that it might in the end be brought into harmony with royalty, the destruction of which it was their object to hasten.

In spite of all the bravado against Sovereigns, no preparations were made to carry on the war. The miscreants lacked everything; there were no well-supplied fortresses, nor guns, nor anything necessary for the inauguration of a campaign. M. de Narbonne in vain pointed out that they must pay attention to the recruiting of the army, and must begin their preparations, so as not to be taken by surprise. The Assembly only replied by fine speeches about the state of France, and passed to the order of the day, on receiving intelligence from all sides of the utter destitution of the soldiers and the unsatisfactory state of the frontier fortresses. It is impossible to give any idea of the madness of this Assembly, all whose decress bore the impress of its violence and fury. It, however, prolonged the period allowed the Emperor for decision until the 10th of March, owing to it being pointed out that postal delays might deprive him of the time necessary for him to arrive at one.

The fury of the Assembly did not prevent it from

being gloomy enough to be suspicious of the eighteen hundred men who were to compose the King's Guard; and under various pretexts it delayed its formation so long that it could not take up its duties until the 19th of February. The King was scrupulous in adhering to his resolve not to take any part in its composition. The Minister of Interior requested each Department to furnish three men whose previous good conduct would be a pledge of their fidelity to all their duties. Each battalion of Paris also furnished two men, and the cavalry were taken from the various regiments of that branch of the service. The rebels, unable to resist the formation of this Guard, sought to corrupt it before it took up its duties; but they could not succeed with the cavalry, who were incorruptible, and they only gained over a few men in the infantry, and they would easily have been brought back again if any question had arisen of defending the King. By way of reply to the reproaches which the Assembly was incessantly heaping upon M. Bertrand, the King wrote to him to say that having closely examined the nature of the charges against him, and finding that there was no foundation for them, he thought he should be wanting in justice if he withdrew his confidence from him. This letter led to great uproar in the Assembly. Guadet and Brissot inveighed against Ministers, and even against the King, asserting that France was governed within by the aristocracy, while from without, the Emperor, Spain, and Prussia dictated

laws to us. Brissot advised the Emperor to withdraw himself from these two Powers, to favour the Jacobins, and to make use of them to prepare the people for liberty, a sure method of strengthening his throne.

The Emperor, not much shaken by this advice, issued a manifesto to assure the French that, far from destroying their Constitution, he would on the contrary join the King in supporting it by every means in his power, by modifying such of its clauses as needed alteration ; that he would only declare war against the rebels, the propagators of disorder and anarchy, who alone perpetuated those misfortunes of France to which he so ardently desired to put an end. He flattered himself that this step would draw to the party of the King the true friends of a wise Constitution, and the greater part of France. But he did not know the strength of the Jacobins, whom he openly attacked under the name of rebels, and who were rendered even more audacious by this proceeding. The Queen was distressed by it, considering it premature. "My brother does not know the position of France ; by declaring war against the Jacobins, he puts us and our faithful servants under the axe."

As a matter of fact, the rebels never lost an opportunity of exciting the people. They persuaded them that the right of veto was the sole obstacle to their happiness, and they used this word, the meaning of which they did not know, as a weapon against

the King and Queen, whom they called Monsieur and Madame Veto. They indulged in the most foul abuse of both of them, especially when his Majesty used his right of veto in connection with the decrees of the Assembly. One of their members pushed audacity so far as to say that Ministers should answer by their heads for the consequences of the veto; and so manifest a violation of the Constitution met with no opposition.

There was a pike manufactory in Paris, and men appeared at the Tuileries carrying pikes with hooks to tear out, so they said, the entrails of the aristocrats. A deputation of these wretches appeared at the bar to accuse the members of the Ministry of preparing a massacre of patriots. It was part of the tactics of the rebels to accuse their enemies of the crimes they themselves were preparing to commit, and they assured the Assembly that they were ready to purge the earth of the friends of the King, whom they regarded as the enemies of the nation. The Assembly, far from punishing such indignities, accorded the honours of the sitting to these brigands. All these horrors had for their object to obtain the sanction of the King to a decree concerning the release of the Châteauvieux soldiers, and one imposing a triple tax on the property of *emigrés*, to which the King could not make up his mind to agree. But Ministers, alarmed by the dangers which his Majesty would incur by persisting in his refusal, entreated him strongly to give his consent. He, therefore, to his great regret, con-

sented to give this sanction, which was a source of distress to all good people.

His Majesty was by no means comfortable. The rebels never let a day go by without some violent attack on him and his most faithful servants. They accused them of keeping up the price of provisions, of the crimes that were committed in various parts of the kingdom, and even of the pillage of some grocery stores, which they themselves had organised in order to arouse a disturbance. They asserted that they met together for the purpose of carrying off the King, with the intention of joining the enemies of the state, in order to spread fire and the sword everywhere; that the King used the money of his civil list to corrupt good patriots; and that he had only formed his military household to subjugate the Parisians, put them to death, and set off with it.

The King, to check the progress of the rebels, wrote to the Municipality to complain of the rumours spread by the malevolent. He remarked at the same time that he knew the duties imposed on him by the Constitution, and that he knew also how to fulfil them; that nothing obliged him to remain in Paris, and his only reason for staying in it was that he wished it well, and thought he might be of use to it; but that he could not conceal the fact that there were reasons which made him desirous of leaving.

This letter in no way diminished the violence of the demagogues of the Assembly. Herault de Séchelles went so far as to enunciate the proposition

that the legislative power had a right to bring the executive power before the judicial power; that the responsibility was not always death, but that it equally resulted in the loss of honour and liberty.

Rouyer proposed to have a census of all the inhabitants of the kingdom whose sons or relations had become *emigrés*, in order to adopt, while there was yet time, firm and solid measures to secure the public from their perfidy. We know the consequences which ensued from this proposal when the Revolution was at its height.

The law about passports was put in force, in spite of the clause in the Constitution which gave everybody the right of leaving or entering the kingdom at will, and the Assembly directed that this decree should be taken at once by four of its members to the King for his sanction.

The King was holding a council at the time. It was suggested to them that they should wait, either in the guard-room or the ambassadors' room, whichever they pleased, until the council rose. They were excessively displeased at not being shown in at once, and still more so when both folding-doors were not opened for them on their going into the apartments of the King. The usher told them it was not the custom, and that they were only opened for large deputations. They complained bitterly to the Assembly of this want of respect, and it attached to this incident all the importance meet for an affair of the most essential character. It wrote to the

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King to complain of this lack of respect to a deputation of the Assembly. His Majesty, astonished at the warmth displayed in connection with so trivial an incident, replied that the usual custom had been adhered to; that he could not have foreseen the importance it attached to the opening of both folding-doors; that he did not care at all for the retention of the old custom; and that since it wished that both doors should be opened for simple deputations, he willingly agreed to give it that satisfaction.

After the reading of the decree, which prescribed the manner in which the most simple deputation should be received by the King, Candorcet declared that in future the President of the Assembly should, when writing to his Majesty, make use of the same formula as the King used to him. No opportunity was lost of diminishing the respect paid to his Majesty, and the people followed suit, when they saw with how little consideration their Sovereign was treated.

The King, careful not to give any cause of complaint against the Constitutional Guard, had a letter written to Péthion, the Mayor of Paris, to ask him on what day it could take the oath to the Municipality. Péthion, not daring to take upon himself the responsibility of replying to this request, addressed himself to the Assembly, which itself laid down the form of oath. It must be remembered that the members of the Guard had to prove first of

all that they had taken the civic oath prescribed by the national Assembly.

The oath exacted was couched in these terms:—"I swear to be faithful to the nation, the law, and the King; to maintain with all my power the Constitution decreed by the national Assembly in 1789, 1790, and 1791; to watch faithfully over the safety of the person of the King; and to obey no order and perform no duty apart from that of the Guard."

It was decided that this oath should be taken publicly in the presence of the municipal officers, and should be renewed each year on the same date as that on which it should be taken for the first time; and that the Royal Guard should not accompany the King if he went more than twenty leagues away from the Corps Législatif, that being the distance prescribed for the Monarch by the new Constitution.

Too great praise cannot be given to this Guard, and the officers belonging to it. To prevent the men from being liable to evil impressions, by reason of their idleness, the officers were continually on the alert, watching over them with the most scrupulous care, never absenting themselves, and even taking their meals at the nearest restaurants to the Castle. They managed the officers of the National Guard with the greatest tact, giving way to them in all the pretentions they put forward, so long as they were not incompatible with the good of the service.

The Jacobins, on the other hand, sought to excite

the jealousy of the National Guard by the lies and calumnies they were in the habit of employing whenever such things were of use to them. The officers of the Guard, on the contrary, sought them out, never rebuffed them, treated them with extreme politeness, and never lost an opportunity of attaching them to the King, and engaging them to unite with themselves for his defence, if the evil intentions displayed by the Assembly should ever bring matters to such an extremity. Such prudent conduct and so many sacrifices did not succeed, however, in diminishing the jealousy of the National Guard, which showed itself in a very marked manner.

The large room of the Cent Suisses had been divided by a partition into two rooms, one for the Royal Guard, and the other for the National Guard. The latter, incited thereto by the Jacobins, and a man named Sevestre,[1] grumbled about the separation, and demanded the destruction of the partition. The King, thinking that he ought to acquiesce in this request, begged his Guard to show their attachment to him by neither complaining nor protesting, and he was obeyed, in spite of the unpleasantness felt in consequence of his acquiescence. There was all the more merit in this obedience because in the National

[1] This Sevestre was architect to the King. Forgetting all he owed to his Majesty, he became a furious Jacobin, which secured for him his nomination as a Member of the Convention, in which he was wicked enough to vote for the death of the King, his benefactor.

Guard there were several ill-conditioned fellows, some of whom were suspected, and not without reason, of being Jacobin spies, and of maliciously misinterpreting the most innocent remarks made by this excellent Guard.

CHAPTER V.

THE YEAR 1792.

Brigandage and excitement fomented by factions in all the Provinces of the Kingdom—Audacity of the Jacobins—Decree of Accusation against M. de Lessart, and his despatch to Orleans to be tried by the National High Court—Daily denunciations against Ministers—The King receives their resignations, and decides upon replacing them from the Jacobin party—Amnesty granted by the Assembly for all the crimes committed at Avignon—Its refusal to listen to any representation from deputies opposed to the rebels—Suppression of the Professor of Public Instruction, the Brotherhoods, all Religious Orders, and even that of the Sisters of Charity.

FRANCE, in every one of its Provinces, was given over to the most frightful brigandage. The woods were devastated, the granaries pillaged, the sale of corn stopped by the peasants, who, under the pretext of a fear of famine, refused to let any go out of the Provinces where it abounded, to nourish those where it was lacking, although the latter would have paid for it in advance. Rich landed proprietors were no longer secure against robbery; everything pointed to a speedy dissolution. Simoneau, Mayor of Étampes, having attempted to put a stop to such excesses, was assassinated by these maniacs, who cut

to pieces a farmer of the neighbourhood of Montlhéry. The King, deprived by this new Assembly of the scant authority remaining to him, had no means of opposing these excesses. If he happened to issue an order on the subject, the Assembly found means to render it abortive, and then to accuse the executive power of causing death, and of not knowing how to repress all these excesses. The position of the King was frightful, and became worse every day.

Far from repressing the daily revolts on the part of the various regiments of the army, the Assembly supported them, and gave ear to every denunciation from soldiers against officers of noble birth, and even against the Minister of War himself, for the purpose of dismissing all these officers, and replacing them by others devoted to themselves, on whom they could rely. It showed its want of respect for the King by passing to the order of the day in connection with a letter written by his Majesty complaining of this conduct.

It was furious against M. de Lessart, who, afraid of the consequences of a war between France and all the Powers of Europe, did everything in his power to avert it. The factious spirits in the Assembly, bent upon finding him to blame, instructed the Committee of Twelve to inquire into his conduct. Brissot took charge of the report to be made to the Assembly, and in it he formally denounced M. de Lessart, and proposed a bill of accusation against him. He had not, so he alleged, informed the Assembly of the

evidence which proved the existence of a concert between the various Powers of Europe against the safety and independence of France; he had pretended to doubt their intentions; had given them a false idea of the position of the kingdom; had not insisted upon respect being paid to France in his correspondence with the Emperor, whose Minister, instead of that of France, he might be supposed to be; had sued for peace, delayed his negotiations, and neglected and betrayed the interests of the nation; and had even refused to obey the decrees of the Assembly, by delaying the transmission of that respecting the union of the Comtat of Avignon with France, a delay which had been the cause of the crimes committed there. He concluded by requesting the Assembly to ask the executive power to send him to Orleans, to be tried there by the National High Court.

Several members of the Assembly opposed the iniquity of this accusation, which deprived the accused of the means of defending himself, and they demanded that at all events evidence should be brought forward in support of the charge. No attention was paid to their request, and the decree was passed. The rebels, proud of their success, clamoured for the application of similar severity to the Minister of Justice; but the Assembly, not deeming the moment opportune, gave no effect to the wish thus expressed.

M. de Lessart, fearing the popular clamour that would result from such a decree, left his house, and

on the following day informed the Directory of his place of retreat. He was at once taken to Orleans. Before his departure he wrote the Assembly a very noble letter, to protest against the accusation brought against him without his being allowed any possibility of justifying himself, adding that, strong in his innocence, he was far from fearing the sentence that might be given, and that he only regretted that the Assembly had not put him in a position to obtain from it the justice he expected from the tribunal to which he had been sent.

M. de Lessart was sincerely attached to the King, but, alarmed by the critical position of his Majesty, and influenced by the Constitutionals, he had not strength enough to make head against their insinuations, and he contributed to the weak proceedings with which he was justly reproached. He hoped by these proceedings to guarantee the King from the dangers which threatened him, and he recognised their danger too late. In his captivity he displayed much courage and great attachment to the King, to whom he sent from Orleans useful advice in regard to the dangers he incurred from the manœuvres of this horrible Assembly.

Péthion, at the head of the Commune of Paris, was not ashamed to appear before the Assembly to thank it for the decree against M. de Lessart, and for the proof it had just given that responsibility was not an empty word, and that the sword of the law hung indiscriminately over every head.

The applause gained by such remarks, which was accompanied by the honours of the sitting, may easily be imagined.

The position of the King was frightful. Distressed beyond measure by the imprisonment of M. de Lessart, he was destitute of means to rescue him from the vengeance of his accusers. He could neither repress any disturbance, nor make his Ministers act without subjecting them to the same fate. Fearing the malevolence of the Assembly in regard to M. Bertrand, for it burnt with a desire to find material for an accusation against him, he requested his resignation, as well as that of M. Tarbé. M. Bertrand possessed the confidence of the King, and deserved it. The firmness of his character never wavered, any more than his profound attachment to the King, who experienced the greatest regret at being unable to retain him in the Ministry. He did not withdraw his confidence from him; but considering the position to which the Assembly had reduced the royal power, it was difficult to give good advice. In spite of the dangers he ran, M. Bertrand remained constantly by the side of the King up to the time when the rebels, having seized upon the person of his Majesty, by violence dismissed his most faithful servants. On leaving the Ministry M. Bertrand gave so detailed and so exact an account of his administration that the Assembly, in spite of the hatred it bore him, could not find any ground of accusation against him. This account augmented the regret

caused by the departure from the Ministry of a man who had carried out his duties with so much distinction.

M. de Narbonne, who did not like M. Bertrand, and who had done his best to get him out of the Ministry, while wishing to retain his own post, devised a method, which he considered infallible, of avoiding being compelled to hand in his resignation, but which had the directly opposite effect. He persuaded MM. de Rochambeau, de Luckner, and de la Fayette to write letters stating that the safety of the state depended upon his remaining in the Ministry, many eulogies of himself and his conduct being added. Never doubting but that the publication of these letters would bring public opinion over to him, and that the King would be obliged to retain him in office, he had them printed and distributed all over Paris on the eve of the day when M. Bertrand was to be denounced. With them he published his reply, in which he gave the strongest assurances of his patriotism. He was base enough to compare his sentiments with those of M. Bertrand, adding that, while he esteemed him, he could not help blaming him for his conduct in the Ministry. This proceeding produced the worst possible effect. An indignant public treated it with justice. The King requested him to send in his resignation, and the Jacobins were delighted to find themselves rid of a Minister who was bound to the Constitutionals, whom they hated still more than they did the Royalists.

Several members of the Assembly wanted to treat him as M. de Lessart had been treated. The majority having demanded that he should be heard, Quinette opposed this strongly, while maintaining that it would be useful to put him on his trial. "Do you think that if M. de Lessart had been heard, the Assembly would have sent him to New Orleans?" They were ashamed to repeat such a scandal, and nothing more was heard of any accusation. M. de Narbonne declared that he was going to the frontier to fight against the enemies of the country, and he prudently left Paris, where his sojourn had resulted so disastrously to himself.

M. de Grave succeeded him in the Ministry of War. He was a Constitutional on principle, but an honest man, and attached to the King, although he frequented the society of the Duke d'Orleans. Weak in character, and fearing the power of the Jacobins and the Assembly, he flattered both, and his speeches smacked of his cowardice. This conduct caused him to be accused of Jacobinism, the principles of which he detested. Incapable of taking up any strong line, he could not keep his post more than six weeks.

The King, seeing that it was impossible to retain any Minister without exposing him to the persecution of the Jacobins, who were then masters of all France, resolved upon making trial of a Ministry composed of men of that party. He hoped by this step to calm their fury, which increased day by day, to open the eyes of the nation, and to take away

from the malevolent all pretext for accusing him of all the disturbances which broke out in every part of the kingdom. He consequently appointed M. Roland de la Platière, Minister of the Interior; M. de la Coste, of Marine; M. Dumouriez, of Foreign Affairs; and M. Clavière, of Taxes. M. Davanthon, a lawyer of Bordeaux, shortly afterwards replaced M. du Tertre; and M. de Grave, who had only been made Minister of War a few days previously, remained *ad interim* at that post.

The King wrote to the Assembly to inform it of those several appointments, and impressed upon it that, profoundly distressed by the evils which were scourging France, he had first of all appointed, for the carrying out of the laws, men recommended by the honesty of their principles; but that as they had left the Ministry he had replaced them by men conspicuous for holding popular opinions; and that, as the Assembly had over and over again said that this was the only way to secure the progress of the Government, he was making use of it in the hope that harmony might be established between the two powers; and that the malevolent might be deprived of every pretext for throwing any doubt upon his desire to assist with all his strength whatever might be useful to France.

Roland de la Platière was the head of a manufactory, a business which he understood much better than the administration of a monarchy. He was enamoured of liberty and equality, looking upon

everything that conduced to them as a virtuous action; and not even disapproving of crime, so long as liberty was its object. Such principles caused him to be accused of having contributed to the amnesty granted to the Avignon brigands. He was a bitter persecutor of the *emigrés*, and worked for the ruin of large landed proprietors, the abasement or death of the aristocracy, and the destruction of the throne. He was equally active against brigands, assassins, anarchists, and squanderers of the public funds, which in his own party gained for him the name of Roland the Virtuous. His wife had much talent and excessive ambition, which she hid under a veil of modesty. Moreover, she shared all the sentiments of her husband, to whom she was most useful in connection with the discharge of his duties, doing nearly all the work of his office herself.

Dumouriez, with talent and an ample income, was also inordinately ambitious, and all the more dangerous because he was devoid of principle. To him everything was good that ministered to his ambition. He always fawned upon the party in power, and turned round as soon as his interest dictated such a step.

After having contributed to the fall of the throne, and having disgusted the Jacobins, he wanted to try to re-establish it at a time when there was but little hope of success. His vanity and indiscretion caused the downfall of his plans, and in his turn he was compelled to emigrate, and imitate the

conduct of those whom he censured so severely during his tenure of office.

Clavière, a friend of Brissot and Grégoire, with whom he was associated in initiating the rebellion in the Colonies, wished to imitate M. Necker, though destitute both of his talents and his integrity. Ambitious, and an agitator by disposition, he wrote to, and brought influence to bear upon the people, to get himself talked about and promoted to the Ministry.

La Coste was an insignificant Jacobin, who trod in the path marked out for him by his colleagues. His appointment disconcerted the Jacobins, who could not help saying, in reference to the King,—"If this devil of a man gives way to us in everything, what excuse shall we have for deposing him?" His condescension did not prevent them from throwing every possible obstacle in the way of the various Administrations, or from inveighing against the new Ministers, and accusing them, and the King by inference, of not being able to put a stop to disorders, of which they themselves were the authors.

The Ministers, on taking office, paid their homage to the Assembly, making much of their civic virtues, and promising it entire obedience. They did not omit to eulogise its glorious labours, which they promised to second by their ardour to see that its decrees were carried out. The Ministers of the King, added M. Roland, are only the Ministers of

the Constitution, by which the King reigns and his Ministers exist.

Cayer de Gerville, before tendering his resignation, thought he ought to lay before the Assembly a sketch of the situation of France. He attributed her misfortunes to the careless, the egotists, and the corruption of morals. He spoke of the necessity for a regeneration, in which there should be no place for religion, which he looked upon as useless; and he inveighed against all priests, sworn or unsworn; longing for the day when kings and nations would pay no more attention to religion. While approving of the formation of clubs, which had been necessary for the establishment of the Revolution, he reproached them for their conduct, and especially for the contempt they displayed towards a Constitution sworn to by all Frenchmen.

M. de Vaublanc, alarmed at the progress of anarchy, and departing from the opinions he professed at the opening of the Assembly, reproached it for having borne too long with the insubordination of the people. He pointed out in strong terms the impossibility of putting an end to the crimes and misfortunes that were desolating France, if the Assembly did not frame good laws clearly expressed; if it did not cause the authority of the King to be respected; and if it allowed Ministers to be hampered in the discharge of their duties, instead of confining itself to punishing them, if it discovered them acting in contravention of the law. He then

proposed the appointment of a Committee to take an account of all denunciations against Ministers, and place them all together before the Assembly. No notice was taken of these remarks; they were too far removed from the views of the majority to be adopted, or even listened to quietly.

More than this, an orator of the Faubourg Saint Antoine went to the Assembly to accuse the King of all the misfortunes of France, and to assure it that it could rely upon the aid of the pikes. "It is better," he added, "to serve the nation than to serve kings who will pass away, themselves, their ministers, and their civil lists, while the rights of man, the national sovereignty, and the pikes will never pass away." The Assembly, without a blush, accorded to this orator the honours of the sitting.

Such conduct forbids our being astonished at the sight of Bassal Cavé, a Constitutional of Versailles and an out-and-out Jacobin, joining Thurcoi and other miscreants of his party to request an amnesty in favour of the perpetrators of the massacres in the ice-house at Avignon; and La Source asserted that it could not be refused, seeing that the preceding Assembly had granted one to the aristocrats, among whom had been the infamous Bouillé. The majority, somewhat ashamed to pronounce expressly in favour of these wretches, decreed, without any mention of names, a general amnesty for all crimes committed in the two Comtats up to the 8th of October 1791. Several members, in consternation by reason of this

frightful sitting, could not help expressing the horror inspired in them by the immunity granted to such crimes, and the shame it would reflect on the Assembly. But they were not listened to, and the decree was passed without alteration. A large number of deputies groaned within themselves over the decrees passed daily by the Assembly; but, held back by terror, they even sought to secure its favours by proposals which they knew would be pleasing to it.

M. Pastoret, member of Public Instruction, proposed, as a measure of economy, the suppression of the Professors, censuring the folly of the old style of education, ridiculing the four faculties and the religious ceremonies fostered by them, and promising wonders from the new system of education, which, founded on philosophy, would bring about the complete regeneration of the French people. The suppression of the Professors was decreed. It was followed, shortly afterwards, by another decree, suppressing all religious orders, all the confraternities and congregations, even that of the Sisters of Charity, and absolutely forbidding the wearing of any ecclesiastical costume outside the churches.

It is impossible to give any idea of the indecency of this sitting. Torné, Fauchet, Gay, Vernon, and other Constitutional bishops threw aside their crosses and their coifs in the midst of the Assembly, accompanying this action by the most impious and irrelevant speeches, which gained for them enthusiastic applause. Good Friday was chosen for this

fête, which was as scandalous as it was disgusting; and that nothing should be wanting to it, married priests appeared at the bar with their children, for whom they did homage to the Assembly.

François de Neufchâteau took advantage of the opportunity to renew his invectives against priests and religion; declared Christianity an unsocial and dangerous religion, ever prostrating itself before despotism; and constrasted it with the Jacobin Club, the protector of the miserable, which it never ceased to oppress.

Courtand demanded toleration for all religions, except the Catholic religion, which our laws, he said, have shown their determination to destroy by detaching the clergy from the Pope by means of the popular elections.

This sitting was brought to a conclusion by a motion by Le Quinio, who proposed, in order to enrich the nation, to destroy all the bronze monuments throughout France, to convert them into *sous*, and to make use of this coin for every kind of payment. This motion, ridiculous as it was, was referred to the Finance Committee. Nothing, however, came of it.

The town of Arles, being unwilling any longer to submit to the yoke of the Jacobins, experienced the displeasure of the Assembly in a very marked manner. The National Guard of the neighbourhood of the town, under pretext of protecting the patriots in it, set out to disarm the inhabitants.

The Arlésiens, determined to resist this, put the town in a state of defence, resolved to fight if necessary. The rebels, furious at such an unexpected resistance, sent delegates to denounce the town to the Assembly as the home of the aristocracy, ever ready to take part in the disturbances in the south. The Arlésiens, on the other hand, sent delegates to justify their conduct and prove their submission to law and authority. But their enemies carried the day. The administrators were changed, and two regiments were ordered to be sent to carry out the disarmament, should any opposition be made to the execution of the decree.

CHAPTER VI.

Continued Disturbances—Disarmament of the Ernest regiment by the troops in the pay of the Jacobins, known by the name of the Marseillais—The Swiss recall this regiment—Death of the Emperor—Assassination of the King of Sweden—Honours paid to the Châteauvieux Deserters—M. de Fleurieu is appointed Governor to Mgr. the Dauphin—The King is compelled to declare war against the Powers—The commencement of it by no means favourable to the French—The Assembly no lodger conceals its project of establishing a Republic in France—Abuse of the Nobility and the Priests—Abolition of Direct Taxes and Government Stock—Banishment of the Suisses from Paris.

THE town of Marseilles was governed by the Jacobin Club. The latter, not relishing the presence of the Ernest regiment, on whose fidelity it could not count, joined the Municipality in requesting its removal. M. de Grave was imprudent enough to accede to this request, and send it to Aix. The Marseillais, who wished to deprive all the surrounding towns of the means of defending themselves, could not endure the proximity of this regiment. They accordingly marched, about two thousand strong, with a battery, with the intention of disarming it. M. de Barbantane, who was in command at Aix, allowed them to enter the town

without opposition, although the regiment offered to march in order of battle against them. Under the pretext of avoiding bloodshed, M. de Barbantane and the Municipality entered into negotiations with them, and ordered the regiment to remain in barracks. The Marseillais, who had no intention of wasting time by listening to them, after having attempted to corrupt the fidelity of the men by promising wholesale pillage of the military chest and regimental effects, marched against the barracks, surrounded them, opened fire upon them, and demanded the departure of the regiment from the town, and its disarmament. M. de Barbantane and the Municipality gave orders accordingly. M. de Watteville, who commanded the regiment, being deprived of all means of resistance, and wishing to avoid a massacre, assembled it, and ordered it to be ready to obey his orders, holding himself responsible to the Cantons for its obedience. He then gave it the order to lay down its arms and leave the town, through which he passed at the head of his regiment amid the tears of all the respectable inhabitants. Hardly had he left than the populace rushed into the barracks and pillaged the military chest and the effects left to the public honour.

The Marseillais, before leaving the town, effected an entrance into the house of Madame Audibert de Ramathuel, the wife of a Councillor of the Parliament of Aix, ransacked it to compel her to deliver up the arms that were in it, and showed her the

rope they had brought with them for the purpose of hanging her brother-in-law, an unsworn priest, who, as well as M. Audibert, was fortunately absent. These same Marseillais, on their way home, entered Apt, and disarmed those of the inhabitants who were suspected by them. The silence of the Assembly in regard to such disturbances, placed the southern Provinces under the yoke of the Jacobins, and the persecution of all respectable people was the inevitable result.

The Canton of Berne, having been apprised of the disarmament of the Ernest regiment, wrote to the King to request its recall, as an unarmed regiment could be of no use to him, protesting at the same time that they would all of them have died at his feet rather than have given up their arms, if they had had to maintain open warfare. It complained of the conduct which had been displayed in regard to a regiment which had been invariably faithful during the century in which it had been in the service of our kings; and it begged his Majesty to give orders for its safe conduct and the restitution of its arms, of which it had been despoiled in so shameful a manner.

The Streiner regiment, in garrison at Lyons, having learnt that Dubois de Crancé had expressed an opinion, in the Jacobin Club of that town, in favour of treating it as the Ernest regiment had been treated, declared to the mayor of the town, by the mouth of M. de Saint Gratien, its Colonel, that

the men composing it would rather shed the last drop of their blood than give up their arms. Knowing that M. du May, who commanded in that part of France, had full powers to order them to march towards Provence, they declared to M. du Hallot, who was in command at Lyons, that after the way in which the Ernest regiment had been treated, they would not obey any such order, and that they would not allow their battalion to be separated except by the authority of the Sovereign Council of their country. The Grand Council of Zurich thanked M. de Saint Gratien for his firmness, and wrote to the King to beg him not to employ the regiment in the southern Provinces, and to forbid any separation of its battalions.

The rational part of the National Guard, wishing to find an opportunity of giving public testimony of their feelings towards the King and the royal family, begged the Queen so earnestly to go to the Comédie Italienne that she thought she could not refuse. A piece was played full of allusions which were hailed by the audience with shouts of "Long live the King and the Royal Family!" The Jacobins present in the house wished to stop this, but as they were not the stronger body they were obliged to give way.

Resolved on having their revenge, they saw their opportunity on the occasion of the performance of a piece called *Auteur d'un Moment*, at Versailles, in which Chéniér and Palissot were

turned into ridicule. The Royalists having applauded and encored the most salient airs, the Jacobins assembled their cohorts and overwhelmed the spectators with insults. As they were obliged to keep within bounds inside the house, they went out, and continued to insult all who did not belong to their party, pelting them with snowballs, and creating such a tumult that the ladies who were in the theatre, fearing to be insulted, left in such hot haste that they waded through the mud to reach their carriages. Not content with this uproar, the Jacobins returned on the following day to the Vaudeville and compelled the actors to withdraw the piece and burn it in their presence. Nobody dared oppose these maniacs, whose audacity was increased by their assurance of impunity.

The Emperor Leopold, brother of the Queen, was attacked by so severe an illness that it carried him off in three days. The news of his illness and his death arrived simultaneously. The Jacobins, who thought themselves well rid of an enemy, rejoiced over his death, without reflecting that, as the Cabinet of Vienna would remain the same and would not change its principles, no alteration would take place in the existing state of things. The Queen was of this opinion. She persuaded herself that a Prince of the age of Francis II., brought up by the Emperor, would infuse greater energy into a war which the arrogance of France in regard to foreign Powers made her look upon as inevitable. She was

mistaken in this expectation, and the same dilatoriness continued to be conspicuous in the preparations of the Court of Vienna.

The assassination of the King of Sweden made a great sensation throughout France, and the King and Queen were thrown into consternation by the news. I was in the apartments of Mgr. the Dauphin, when M. Ocharitz, the Spanish Minister, sent to ask me to go down to my own room, as he had something to say to me. I found him much disturbed, and he then acquainted me with the disaster, the news of which had just reached him. "The Ministers of the King have, possibly, not informed him," he said to me, "of this dreadful event, and I think it best that you should let him know it at once." I went to the apartments of the Queen and found with her Madame, who supped every evening with the King and Queen. I asked her Majesty to allow me to say a word to her in private. I was grieved beyond measure to have to tell her of such a misfortune. She knew it already, and said to me, "I see by your face that you have already heard the sad news we have just received. It is impossible not to be filled with grief, but we must arm ourselves with courage, for who can rely upon being exempt from a similar fate?" The Queen told Madame, who threw herself into her arms and those of the King in the most touching manner. The age of the Prince Royal of Sweden was mooted. "I know it well," said the King. "I

heard of his birth just as the Queen was about to be confined, and I said to her, 'You may expect a daughter, for two kings have not two sons in the same month, and a few days afterwards' (he looked at Madame) 'Mademoiselle came into the world.'" "Will your Majesty permit me to ask if you regret her birth?" "Certainly not," said the King, folding her in his arms; and looking at her with tears in his eyes he kissed her with an amount of emotion that completely unnerved the Queen and Madame Elizabeth, and produced the most distressing effect. The young Princess burst into tears. I shall never forget a sight which made so deep an impression upon me, especially when my thoughts revert to the dangers which this loving Prince was incurring at the very moment when he gave way to the affection he felt for what was dearest to him in the world.[1]

Although the royal family had no hope of the

[1] I cannot help quoting here the following eulogy of Madame by Durdent. "Louis XVI. and the Queen were married eight years before the birth of a child realised their wishes and those of the French. At last, on the 19th of December 1778, Heaven granted them its rarest and most precious gift, and never had parents greater reason to be proud of it. Marie Thérèse Charlotte, called Madame, and now Duchess d'Angoulême, was born in the Castle of Versailles; Madame, whose name will be in far off ages, as it is among us now, the emblem of every virtue; Madame, celebrated in the hovel as in the palace, in the extremity of Europe as in the heart of France, whom one can praise without being accused of adulation, because her glory has long since become a historical glory, and for whom, young though she be, posterity has already begun."

recovery of the King of Sweden, they were deeply grieved by the news of his death. "We have sustained a great loss," said the Queen to me; "he was sincerely attached to us, and the day before his death he sent word to us that one of his regrets on quitting this life was that his death might be injurious to our interests." This Prince to his latest hour displayed remarkable courage, presence of mind, and sympathy. He displayed his sympathy in a very touching manner to all those who were, he perceived, dismayed at the prospect of his death, especially to the Counts de Brohé and de Fersen, and several other noblemen of his Court. They had withdrawn to their estates at the time of the revolution he had brought about, and had ceased to appear at Court. As soon as they heard of his wound they at once repaired to his presence. The Count de Fersen, who had been his Governor, was overwhelmed by the misfortune, and could not hide his deep grief. The King took him by the hand and said to him, "Although we have differed in opinion, I was quite sure that you would be the first person whom I should see beside me." And he added, as he looked at the Count de Brohé and the other noblemen around his bed, "It is pleasant to die surrounded by old friends."

The Queen burst into tears when telling me of the death of this Prince. He was extremely regretted by the Swedes, and the people were with the greatest difficulty prevented from tearing in

pieces those whom they suspected of being concerned in this horrible assassination.

The Jacobins, who looked upon this Prince as their most mortal enemy, rejoiced over his death, and were far from exculpating themselves from the charge of having contributed to it. He left the regency to his brother, the Duke de Sudermanie, and the little anecdote I am about to relate will prove that he was far from suspecting that he would play the part he was eventually to play. When taking the waters at Aix la Chapelle with a relative of mine, to whom he spoke without reserve, he praised the Duke de Sudermanie in the warmest terms. As my relative appeared astonished at this, he said, in these very words, "Many falsehoods have been uttered in regard to him; he has always behaved himself well, and he has my esteem and my confidence."

It would be impossible to imagine a more sad and anxious position than that of the royal family at this time. The Ministry was composed of their most mortal enemies, who surrounded them with spies, even inside the Castle, to such an extent that the King and Queen several times made use of my footman to contrive an entrance into their private room for people to whom they desired to speak in secret. All their letters were opened; and to obviate this inconvenience, they were obliged to have recourse to a cipher very long both to write and interpret, but impossible to discover without the

key. The Queen spent all her mornings in writing, and the King in reading and making notes on what was transpiring. His councils were so many tortures; and he had need of all his religion and resignation to bear with patience a situation as painful as his was. He was convinced that in the end he should fall a victim to the rebels; but persuaded that every future attempt in his favour would only hasten the moment and drag his family into the same misfortune, he resigned himself to his fate, and courageously awaited whatever Heaven might have in store for him.

He was deeply sensible of the marks of affection paid to him in his cruel position, and I had an opportunity of experiencing this. The post of Governess of the Children of France gave me the right to transact business directly with his Majesty. I handed to him the accounts of their expenses, which, when signed by the King, were at once paid out of the Royal Treasury. I was in his room at the usual time for such payments, and I handed him my account of expenditure, which he took without looking at it, saying to me, "I know all the value of your attachment, and you respond to my confidence so that I never have any need to overlook your work. It is a great consolation to have faithful subjects." "Your Majesty has still some very devoted ones, who would give their lives for you." "Ah! how could I exist if I had not that belief amid all the misfortunes that overwhelm me?" I

could not restrain my feelings, and I burst into tears. "Calm yourself," said the good King to me, "and do not let anybody see you leave my room in that state." I returned to my room with my heart torn asunder. I often felt thus, but I did not allow my feelings to get the better of me. It was too essential that Mgr. the Dauphin should be amused, and that fear and melancholy should not be allowed to take possession of his mind at so tender an age. On the contrary, I endeavoured to give him courage by talking and laughing with him.

The forty soldiers of Châteauvieux, released from the galleys by the amnesty, were conducted in triumph to Paris by the inhabitants of Versailles, who requested permission to appear with them at the bar of the Assembly. A large number of members protested against such a scandal, and M. de Gouvion rushed to the tribune to point out the full atrocity of it. "How can you expect me," he exclaimed, "to look quietly at the assassin of my brother, of the virtuous Desilles, and so many other victims to their obedience to the law?" "Very well, go out!" shouted Choudieu. "Has that wretch never had a brother?" replied Gouvion, who, leaving the Assembly, at once sent in his resignation. In spite of the opposition which the rebels encountered in regard to the reception of such miscreants at the bar, they obtained for them not only admission, but the honours of the sitting, amid shouts and vociferations from the galleries against the opponents of this horrible decision.

The whilom actor Collot d'Herbois presented them to the Assembly in a speech bristling with republican madness. He represented them as the victims of military despotism, which was being consumed in the flames of the noble fire of liberty. "When assuming the national dress," he said, "they swore to defend it, and they repeat the oath in your presence."

They entered the House to the sound of the drum, preceded by a hundred of the National Guard, well and poorly-dressed women and children, a few persons in the uniforms of the Suisses and the Invalides, and the captors of the Bastille sword in hand. Flags were waved which had been given to the gallery by the patriots of the Departments, who took off their hats, and shouted, "Long live the National Assembly, our good deputies, and our brothers of Châteauvieux!" And they sang the air "*Ça ira.*" Gauchon, a patriot of the Faubourg Saint Antoine, who marched at their head, did homage to the Assembly for the new pikes which the men of the 14th of July had had made, and begged it to accept the dedication of them. A decree fixed this for the following Sunday, the day when the Municipality was to give a *fête* in honour of the Châteauvieux deserters, and it also directed the lovely harangue of Collot d'Herbois to be printed.

Sunday, the 15th of April, was the day appointed for the *fête* of these wretched deserters. A triumphal chariot, surmounted by a figure of Liberty in cardboard, which shook at every step, was dragged from

the Faubourg Saint Antoine to the Bastille, and from the Bastille to the Champ de Mars. Before this chariot were carried two sarcophagi reputed to contain the bones of the insurgents who were killed at Nancy. They were followed by a large number of people carrying banners, emblems, and mottoes, who never stopped shouting, "Long live the nation, liberty, and the *sans-culottes!*" Perfumes of detestable odour were burnt in chafing-dishes on the altar of the country; a horrible band played "*Ça ira*" and patriotic airs; and the people danced round the altar after hearing recitations of poetry by Chénier, Péthion, Manuel, Danton, Robespierre, and several members of the Municipality; and some deputies were not ashamed to take part in such a procession. It passed the Place Louis XV., where the statute of that Prince was seen to be surmounted by a red cap, and covered with a tricoloured veil. Fortunately, the Tuileries was closed that day, and the National Guard behaved so well that order was not disturbed for a moment during this ridiculous and scandalous parade.

The wretched deserters went begging all over Paris for money to defray the costs of this *fête*, and they were audacious enough to come to the Tuileries. There were only five or six of them, and according to custom they first addressed themselves to the principal valet of the King—M. de Chamilly, an excellent man, and extremely devoted to his Majesty. Frightened of the consequences of a refusal at a

moment of so much excitement, he without any hesitation gave the customary amount contributed by the King in such cases, as well as the ordinary note which, when presented at the apartments of the Queen and the other members of the royal family, secured from each one a sum proportionate to his or her rank. As a rule, the principal valets and chambermaids attended to these offerings, which were not even mentioned to the Princes and Princesses. As nothing was given on behalf of the Children of France without my orders, they came to me for a contribution for these wretched deserters. I replied that it was not usual for Mgr. the Dauphin to contribute to fresh requests. To my consternation the notes of the King and Queen were produced, and there was no longer any means of refusing. It was a Court day, and I went up to the rooms of Mgr. the Dauphin where the Queen was receiving: I was still quite upset by such audacity; the Queen noticed it, and asked me the reason. I told her what had taken place, and how impossible it had been for me to avoid doing in the case of Mgr. the Dauphin what had been done for their Majesties. The Queen, without saying a word, went to mass with the King, and when the Court was over, and she was alone with her children, she made some remarks about the money given to these villainous convicts. The King was indignant about it, and, being incredulous, he sent for M. de Chamilly, who excused his conduct by the fear he had of the

consequences of a refusal. The King reprimanded him sharply for his untimely complacence, which he ought not to have displayed without permission; and the poor man, whose erroneous conduct had only been actuated by attachment, went back to his room in a state of alarm.

The little Dauphin, who had not lost a word of the conversation, was furious, and impatiently awaited the moment when we were alone to tell me what he thought of it. "Can you conceive, Madame, more scandalous conduct than that of M. de Chamilly? What will the public say when it is known that we have given money to these villains? If I were papa, I should dismiss M. de Chamilly, and never see him again." "You are," I said to him, "very severe upon an old servant of the King, who is profoundly attached to him. He has made a great mistake, I admit, but it was done with a good motive, though without reflection as to the inconvenience of his proceeding." "You are right," he replied quickly; "but I should have said to him, 'You have made a great mistake; I forgive you this time on account of your great attachment to me; but never do anything like it again, or out you go.'"

It was this same M. de Chamilly who followed the King to the Temple, knowing full well that the step would cost him his life. He escaped the massacres of La Force, on the 2d of September, almost miraculously, and was one of the victims of the Reign of Terror in 1794.

Mgr. the Dauphin was very just, and was born with an elevated mind which was natural to him. He hated a lie, looking upon it as derogatory; and he was so truthful that he was the first to tell me of the faults he committed, without making it necessary for me to apply to anybody but himself for information in regard to them. When he saw with me people whom he knew to be attached to the King and Queen, he never failed to say kind and obliging things to them. His disposition was lively and impetuous, and he sometimes gave way to violent fits of anger. When they were over he was so ashamed of them that he was angry with himself, especially if he had given way to his rage before others. "What will they think of me in the world?" he would say, with tears in his eyes, and he would implore them not to mention it. He was adored by all those who were brought in contact with him, and nobody could help being moved by the sight of all the dangers surrounding so amiable a child, and one who was of so much promise.

The Ministers, looking upon themselves only as creatures of the Assembly, thought of nothing but giving it proofs of their submission to its will. Roland wrote to it, as of a thoroughly natural event, that Jourdan and the other criminals detained in prison in the Palace of Avignon for the crimes committed by them on the 16th and 17th of October, and for other murders, had been publicly set at liberty by eighty persons in the uniform of

the National Guard; that this had taken place in broad daylight, and amid perfect order, in the presence of the citizens of Nîmes, who on that day had the custody of the prisons. Genty, a member of the Assemby, added that they had been carried off in triumph, and requested that the Minister of Interior should state the steps he had taken to protect society at large from such brigands. His request was received with shouts and groans, and the Assembly passed to the order of the day.

All the brigands of the southern Provinces, joined to those from abroad, formed an army of four thousand men, under the name of the Marseillais. They had four guns, and overran the Provinces, committing every sort of excess. The Minister of War, who, in accordance with a decree of the Assembly, had given orders for the despatch of two regiments to Provence to restore order there, for its inhabitants were dying of fear of the Jacobins, represented to the Assembly that the despatch of these regiments was alarming the patriots of Marseilles; that Arles, Carpentras, and Avignon being perfectly quiet, there was no longer any reason for their despatch; that their presence created excitement among good patriots; and that, acting on this conviction, he had proposed to the King to withdraw the troops from Lyons, in accordance with the wish expressed by the Municipality of that town; that all fears were exaggerated; and that the Ministers of the King were not afraid of trusting the nation, which

deserved this confidence by reason of its conduct and its patriotism. Guadet supported this opinion, saying that as circumstances had changed, on account of the submission of the aristocratic towns, the decree for the despatch of the troops should be revoked, seeing that oppression of the patriots was its sole object.

Genty, indignant, represented that the brigands alone enjoyed this boasted tranquillity; that the patriots of Avignon were free, and the castles burnt. He was called to order amid terrific uproar, and the motion was converted into a decree. The brigands, having no longer any obstacle in their way, marched on Lyons with their little army. The frightful majority in the Assembly, who never lost sight of the overthrow of the throne, and who counted upon making use of this army for the furtherance of their designs, took care not to oppose its progress; it was allowed to traverse the country quietly, and to draw nearer and nearer to Paris, so that it might be utilised when the proper time arrived.

Ministers again compelled the King to write to the new Emperor to point out to him the necessity for preventing bloodshed, which could not fail to result if he determined to oppose the establishment of the French Constitution. He represented to him that, in spite of the calumnies heaped upon it, it merited the esteem of nations; that, as the hereditary representative of the nation, he had sworn to live in freedom, or to die with it, and that he was

resolved to maintain it. It was easy to recognise in this letter the style of M. Dumouriez, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, who simultaneously wrote a letter to the Marquis de Noailles, to be communicated to the Emperor. It contained nothing but eulogy of the French nation. In it the Emperor was advised not to come into collision with it, but to put an end to the anxiety he was causing France, and not to meddle with her home government. It was, moreover, pointed out to him that, in giving up his alliance with her, he was exposing himself to the greatest dangers, and was running the risk of finding himself without allies in the midst of his natural enemies.

As the advice of M. Dumouriez made no impression on the Court of Vienna, the Marquis de Noailles, who had no longer any hope of making that Court alter its proceedings, renewed his request to be recalled with such importunity that he obtained it, and was succeeded by M. de Maulde.

Every day brought news of pillage, murder, and arson throughout France. The impunity accorded to the brigands, and the persecution of all respectable people, paralysed all the authorities with fright. Nobody dared do his duty for fear of being accused, and of not being able to obtain a hearing in his own defence. M. de Vaublanc, alarmed at the situation of France, ascended the tribune, and gave the Assembly a very vivid picture of the anarchy which reigned in all the Provinces, where nobody dared

carry out the law. He attributed it to the power of the Clubs, who ruled the Assembly, and had forced from it an amnesty decree which the brigands, sure of going unpunished, had themselves anticipated; and he declared it to be urgently necessary that Ministers should concert with the Assembly as to the means of restoring order, without which both France and liberty would be lost.

The King informed the Assembly that he had selected M. Davanthon to replace M. Duport du Tertre as Minister of Justice. The new Minister, following the example of his colleagues, presented himself to assure the Assembly that he should never have emerged from his retirement, if he had not seen liberty triumphing over the hundred-headed monster; that he should look upon himself as the most perverse of beings if he made the slightest attack on the Constitution; and that if he left the Ministry he should not have to reproach himself with the disapprobation of anybody.

M. Davanthon was a lawyer of Bordeaux, who, although a strong patriot, preserved in regard to the King a degree of respect of which his colleagues did not give him an example, and His Majesty had no reason to complain of him during his tenure of office.

Mgr. the Dauphin having reached the age of seven, the time when the Princes were handed over to men, the King was much embarrassed to find him a Governor. There was some underhand talk of

depriving him of this nomination, and Candorcet intrigued to secure the appointment for himself. After long deliberation the King turned his eyes on M. de Fleurieu, who, being attached to the Constitutional party, would give less offence than anybody else. Under the circumstances, this choice was the best that could have been made. M. de Fleurieu was an honest man; he was clever and well educated; and he was much attached to the King. But his character was weak. This reason induced the King to select as Deputy-Governors of the young Prince, two naval officers, men of firm character, and courageous beyond doubt. One was called M. de Marigni, but I have forgotten the name of the other. M. de Fleurieu was afraid of any contact between Mgr. the Dauphin and people who had an older right to the esteem of the royal family. For this reason he set aside MM. du Puget and d'Allonville, Deputy-Governors of the first Dauphin, and both men of merit; and the same reason led him to refuse to appoint to the post of librarian to the young Prince the Abbé Davaux, the tutor of the two Dauphins, who had so distinguished himself in their early education that this reward was naturally due to him.

The King and Queen heard with much distress of the marriage of M. de Fleurieu with Mademoiselle d'Arcambal. He kept it secret until the moment when his appointment was made public; and the society as well as the connections of this family

were very distasteful to the Queen. But there was no retreating from the selection, and in the sad position of the King it must be regarded as a very fortunate one. Personally I was very much pleased with it, for I was afraid that a Jacobin might succeed in being appointed to the place, and in spoiling the natural disposition of the young Prince, who gave such great promise.

Madame d'Arcambal was the daughter of M. Le Normand d'Etiolles, the husband of Madame de Pompadour. She was born during the lifetime of the latter, and as the law did not allow him to recognise her as his daughter, he had paid a M. Dacvert to adopt her, and she passed as his daughter. She had two brothers, the legitimate children of M. Le Normand and an actress whom he married after the death of Madame de Pompadour. Such associations, which must naturally be those of M. and Madame de Fleurieu, appeared to the Queen to be somewhat ill-suited to the Governor of Mgr. the Dauphin. She was, moreover, suspicious of the character of Madame d'Arcambal, who had very great influence over the mind of M. de Fleurieu. She had made him marry her daughter, in spite of the great difference between his age and that of the young girl, and there was a reasonable fear of the empire she would exercise over him.

The King wrote to the Assembly to inform it of his having selected M. de Fleurieu to be Governor to Mgr. the Dauphin, a selection in which he had been

guided merely by the general esteem enjoyed by M. de Fleurieu by reason of his uprightness and his attachment to the Constitution. He added that he should never cease to beg him to inspire in his son all the virtues suitable to a king of a free people, and to render him worthy of the love of the French by his attachment to the Constitution, his respect for the law, and his attention to everything that could contribute to the happiness of the kingdom.

Instead of being touched by such a letter, Lasource was not ashamed to allude to the decree of the Constituent Assembly on the occasion of the return of the King from Varennes, which delegated the nomination of the Governor of Mgr. the Dauphin to the members of the Assembly, and he reminded it of the ridiculous list of the eighty candidates put forward at that time. Rouger pretended that the letter of the King was unconstitutional, and moved that it should be referred to the Committee of the Constitution, in order that a decision might be arrived at as to who, the King or the nation, ought to make the appointment, it being extremely important that the young Prince should receive an education in conformity with the wish of the French people. The Assembly referred the letter to the Committee, which prevented the King from handing over Mgr. the Dauphin at once to M. de Fleurieu. The latter, however, named those who were to compose his household, pending his assumption of the duties of his post. As the education of Mgr. the

Dauphin did not suffer from this delay, the King and Queen patiently awaited the moment when they could carry into effect the wish they had expressed.

The position of the King became more and more distressing every day, surrounded as he was by Ministers in whom he had no confidence, and all whose views were opposed to his own. Influenced by the Jacobins, they were bent upon war, especially Dumouriez, who based upon it great hope of fortune, and who used every means in his power to compel the King to propose it to the Assembly. His Majesty, who foresaw that it would be a source of fresh misfortune to the Assembly, could not make up his mind to it. Urged on, however, by his Ministers and the majority of the Assembly, who regarded the tardiness of his decision as treason, he at last resolved to comply with their wishes. He left the Castle on the 20th of April, with sadness depicted on his countenance, and, accompanied by his six Ministers, he reached the Assembly. He made a short speech to induce it to reflect seriously on the misfortunes which might result from a decision on so important a matter as a declaration of war, and then he added, "M. Dumouriez will read to you the report made to the Council on the position of France in relation to Austria."

Its substance was to the effect that Austria had always refused to carry into effect the treaty of 1756, which bound her to join France against all her enemies; that she had never ceased to prove herself

The unhappy King returned to the Palace full

of sorrow. He was far from sharing the expectation of Dumouriez, who counted on making this war conduce to the re-establishment of the royal authority, which his wish to retain his post then made him sincerely desire. His frivolous character did not permit of his reflecting on the difficulty of securing success by the means he wished to employ to obtain it, which hurled the King into an abyss of misfortune.

The Assembly adjourned at five o'clock to consider the proposition of the King. Its mind was made up in advance; and everything that could be said by the sensible members of it about the danger of a war in the case of a nation whose army was not organised, whose finances were in an unfavourable state, and whose Constitution was merely experimental, fell on unheeding ears. The war will remove all these inconveniences, was the cry; and amid general wandering from the question, and universal uproar, war was declared against the Emperor. M. de Laureau was then bold enough to propose to the Assembly that the wives and children of *emigrés* and the whilom nobility still resident in France should be placed under the protection of the nation. "Such a step," he said, "would do honour to the nation, and would be an answer to the calumnies indulged in by foreigners against it." The order of the day was the only reply made to this proposal.

France began the war without money, with a dis-

organised army, and defenceless fortresses, and if the Allies had not given the French time to recover from their first alarm, it is more than probable that they would have put an end to the Revolution, and compelled France to accept a reasonable Government. But by continuing to act tentatively they permitted a revival of the natural courage of the French, who in the end defended themselves like lions, and became invincible.

The commencement of the war, however, was not auspicious for France. A portion of the Army of the North was defeated near Tournay, and retreated on Lille in complete disorder. The soldiers then revolted, massacred Théobald Dillon, who was in command, severely wounded M. de Chaumont, his aide-de-camp, who was left for dead, and then hanged six Tyrolean chasseurs, whom they had taken prisoners. M. Arthur Dillon demanded justice from the Assembly for the assassination of his relative, presenting a very noble and detailed petition in regard to the circumstances of this cruel murder. It was referred to the Committee for report as to the facts contained in it.

M. de Rochambeau, deeply grieved by what was going on, wrote to the King to complain of the orders given by Dumouriez, who was open to blame for the reverse that had been sustained; of the insubordination of the army; and the continual charges brought against the generals, which rendered any success impossible. He concluded his letter

by begging his Majesty to communicate it to the Assembly, and to be good enough to accept his resignation, as he saw no chance of doing any good.

Dumouriez was reproached, and justified himself by showing that he had had a right to count upon an insurrection, the spread of which in every direction he had ordered, and that, from the details he had received, it appeared so certain as no longer to leave any room for doubt—an insurrection, by the way, of which M. de Rochambeau was not informed. The King having consented to accept the resignation of this officer, he was replaced by Marshal Lukner, who came to Paris to give his Majesty an account of the state of the army, and to beg him to promise to use every effort to induce M. de Rochambeau to resume the command, adding that he had such a high opinion of him that he should consider it an honour to serve as his aide-de-camp, and that he regarded his resignation as the greatest misfortune that could happen to the army. All this was related to the Assembly by Dumouriez, who was overwhelmed with applause.

M. de la Fayette also complained of the destitute condition of his army, which, as it was deficient of everything necessary, was unable to effect a junction with that of M. de Rochambeau. While lauding its good behaviour and the ardour displayed by it, he so strongly pointed out the necessity of severely punishing the murder of prisoners, which could not fail to give rise to reprisals and have a very danger-

ous effect on the army, that the Assembly decreed the formation of a council of war for the trial and punishment of the murderers of prisoners and their officers, as well as of the soldiers who by their flight had thrown disorder into the ranks of the army.

The unfortunate Avignonnais, a prey to all the miscreants who had been harassing them for so long, sent forty commissioners to the Assembly to complain of Bertin and Rebecqui, so named by the Assembly, who, not content with having abetted the release of Jourdan and his accomplices from the prisons of Avignon, had, with their assistance, just reorganised the muncipality and the administrative bodies, which they had filled with creatures of their own, making the most hideous proposals, threatening this time to fill the ice-house, and spreading terror all over the district. Bertin and Rebecqui sought to defend themselves by accusing the aristocracy; but as the latter offered themselves as a guarantee of their veracity, an inquiry into the matter was promised. After several sittings had been devoted to its discussion, the elections carried out by the commissioners were annulled, they were ordered to appear at the bar of the house, and the National Guard of the neighbourhood, whom they had summoned to Avignon, as well as all people armed without legal authority, were ordered to leave the town. The Minister was then asked what he had done in regard to the escape of Jour-

dan and his accomplices, to which he naïvely replied that he had not done anything.

M. de Grave, no longer able to bear the weight of his office, resigned, and was replaced by Servan, a thorough patriot, who protested to the Assembly that his patriotism alone induced him to accept the Ministry of War, but that, aided by the enlightenment of the Assembly, and seconded by the King and his Ministers, he hoped to be of some use to the public weal, and to merit its esteem.

The Assembly no longer made any secret of its plan of establishing a Republican government in France. To succeed in this it occupied itself solely in defaming the King, and in attributing to him the intention—far removed from his disposition—of upsetting the Constitution and recovering the power he had lost. Péthion aided it by every means which his position gave him. He spread underhand rumours that the King had still an idea of leaving Paris to put himself at the head of foreigners, to bring about a counter-revolution, and then to punish the friends of liberty. He recommended active watchfulness in regard to the movements of the Castle, and laboured hard to inspire anxiety, which served the interests of the rebels to perfection.

The King, indignant at this conduct, wrote to the Assembly to complain of the calumnies spread by Péthion for the purpose of exciting the people and rousing them to the commission of fresh excesses. Péthion replied to the letter of the King by a most

insidious letter, well calculated to strengthen the suspicions which he himself had aroused. He complained of the uneasiness caused by the conduct of the King, who, instead of being surrounded by patriots, had around him none but enemies of the Revolution, and he protested his unalterable attachment to the Republic, which he would ever defend to the utmost of his power. He circulated this letter all over Paris, for the purpose of rousing the populace and causing it to lose all respect for the King and the royal family.

The insolence of the rebels in the Assembly was at its height. Their principal leaders, such as Brissot, Isnard, Vergniaud, all the deputies of the Gironde, and many others, daily indulged in the most violent invectives against the King, the Queen, and their most faithful servants. They incited the people to revolt; and by the protection they extended to criminals, they created a formidable party which made all France tremble. Enraged against the priests and the nobility, they called down fire and sword upon them, spreading suspicion and calumny at their own good pleasure, receiving every kind of denunciation, and having recourse even to invention when any was needed. François de Neufchâteau, a declared enemy of religion, continually renewed his diatribes against the priests, and incessantly demanded their banishment.

Everything pointed to an imminent revolution. The Assembly openly violated the Constitution, and

the rebels laughed at the deputies who made any complaint of this. They put them to silence, and sent to the Abbaye those who represented too strongly the indecency of their conduct. Having become masters of the Assembly, in which they had subjugated the majority, they passed without any difficulty the most revolting and most unconstitutional decrees.

The Assembly had long been anxious for the removal of the Suisses from Paris. To contrive this under some sort of pretext, M. de Kersaint denounced them for having arrested several citizens. In vain was it proved to him that the step had been occasioned by the most infamous remarks; his declamations went on all the same, on account of the danger of having so many troops at the disposal of the King. "He must not have an army under his orders," he added; "his Guard must suffice." He next complained of the garden of the Tuileries being closed by order of the King. "The nation houses him in the Tuileries, but it does not allow him the exclusive enjoyment of the garden; it is subject to the national police; whereas, when it is shut, it is subject to his Guard, which has no power in any case outside the walls of the Palace."

In support of this speech, a deputation from the Faubourg Saint Antoine, composed of the victors of the Bastille, and two thousand people with Santerre and Saint-Huruge at their head, requested permis-

sion to march past the Assembly. This deputation marched in three columns; the centre one was composed of the National Guard, and the two others of men of the Faubourg, carrying pikes of every shape, ornatmented with flags of the national colours, and devices suitable to their dress. They were accompanied by women armed with guns, pistols, and swords. They all marched in to the sound of the drum, preceded by the declaration of the rights of man in gilt letters, and a military band playing "*Ça ira.*" Their spokesman thundered against despots in coalition, warned them to tremble because their hour had come, and concluded by denouncing the King as having violated the Constitution by keeping the Suisses near his person.

They attempted, but in vain, to effect an entrance into the Castle. The gates were shut and so carefully guarded that they could not get in, and they were obliged for that day to renounce this first attempt.

In spite of the decree which ordered that no alteration should be made in regard to the Suisses until after a reply from the Cantons, the King was compelled to send them to Courbevoie, and only those on duty in the Castle were retained in Paris.

The Assembly next abolished the direct taxes and Government stock, except such as represented original titles—an impossible thing to prove, in consequence of the pillage of the castles, and the burning of the charter-rooms. It ordered all genealogies

which might be found in libraries or other public places to be burnt, and it suppressed, with retrospective effect, dating from the 1st of February, the million granted to the Princes, brothers of his Majesty.

CHAPTER VII.

THE YEAR 1792.

The so-called Austrian Committee—The King denounces this calumny to the Tribunal presided over by Judge La Rivière—Condemnation of the latter—Return of Madame de Lamballe to the Tuileries—The Goyer motion relative to Marriage—Protest of Dumouriez against the King of Sardinia—Complaints of the Queen against M. de Mercy—Her great courage—Louis XVI. causes the edition of *Mémoires de Madame de la Motte* to be burnt—Decree against the unsworn Priests—Disbandment of the Constitutional Guard of the King, and despatch of M. de Brissac to Orleans—Pauline de Tourzel.

EVERY day the rebels invented new methods of rousing the people. Chabot, Basire, and Merlin, members of the Vigilance Committee, invented the myth of an Austrian Committee inside the Tuileries, which upset the arrangements made by Ministers, was the cause of our disasters, and had for its sole object the overthrow of France, and the restoration of despotism. They gave this fable to Carra, to be printed in his *Annales Politiques;* and in order to give it greater consistency, they preceded it by the most violent speech Isnard had ever made from the tribune. In it he drew a most sinister picture of

the deplorable state of France, which he attributed to the King, the royal family, and all their surroundings. He severely censured the Constituent Assembly for not having sufficiently realised this truth—that liberty can never be too dearly bought, and that a few drops of blood go for nothing when shed from the veins of the political body; that it had made a great mistake in acquitting the King, and decreeing the revision of the Constitutional clauses; and that his Majesty, instead of being sensible of all that he owed to the national clemency, had taken advantage of it to disorganise France, and then put himself at the head of the troops for the purpose of proposing an arrangement with the egotistical part of the nation, and annihilating liberty and equality. He added that if external enemies were victorious, the internal ones would be put to death. He even carried his anger to such an extent as indirectly to propose the deposition or death of the King, as a means of putting an end to the dangers which threatened the country. The order of the day was called, and this horrible speech was happily not honoured by being printed.

The calumny inserted in the *Annales Politiques* was repeated to the Assembly by Chabot, Basire, and Merlin. The King heard all this infamy shouted out by the hawkers, who took great care to ply their trade under his windows. Overcome with grief at realising to what an extent his people were being misled, he thought it his duty to denounce the

author of these calumnies before the tribunals; and he gave notice of his intention in a letter which he transmitted to the Assembly by the hands of the Minister of Justice. Gensonné denounced it as an insult to the Corps Législatif, and as capable of being looked upon as one more proof of the existence of the Austrian Committee. He included M. Bertrand in his denunciation, and Brissot carried back the Committee as far as the year 1756, accusing M. Bertrand, in addition, of the massacres and burnings of San Domingo. M. Bertrand and M. de Montmorin (who had also been denounced by Carra) attacked him in a court of law, and also brought an action against Chabot, Basire, and Merlin before M. la Rivière, the judge of the Tuileries district, who issued a warrant for their appearance. The Assembly exclaimed against the insolence of a judge who dared to issue such an order, and declared that he was guilty of treason to the nation in having attacked the inviolability of the representatives of the nation, and in having sought to cast discredit on the national representation.

The rebels declined to listen to the arguments brought forward by the judge in his defence, nor would they accede to his request to furnish proof of the falsity of the denunciation of the deputies. "We should have no more denunciations," exclaimed Brissot, "if we did not keep them secret!" And the Assembly ordered M. la Rivière to be sent to the High Court of Orleans, there to be tried for

the crime of which he was accused. This miscarriage of justice made no impression in Paris, and merely served to increase the denunciations against the Austrian Committee.

Owing to the rumours spread by the rebels that the pretended Committee met at the residence of the Princess de Lamballe, the judge examined her as a witness, and much laughter was heard in the Assembly when his report was read wherein he justified his employment of all the forms required by law.

After the acceptance of the Constitution, the Queen, fearing lest she should be compelled to deprive the Princess de Lamballe of her post of superintendent of her household if she continued to reside away from France, begged her to return to her side. In spite of her own conviction of the danger she ran in returning, Madame de Lamballe did not hesitate a moment in complying with this request, and on her arrival a suite of rooms was allotted to her which was only separated from that of the Queen by the landing of the staircase. The proximity of her rooms, and her friendship for Madame de Lamballe, made her Majesty pay her frequent visits, but as they became the subject of several denunciations, she found herself under the necessity of curtailing them.

The Princess de Lamballe on her arrival in France at first received a considerable circle. She was informed exactly of what was going on in

Paris, and the circulation greatly was somewhat unrestrained. But evils limited in with such rapidity that she was obliged to limit herself in this, so as not to give any ground of accusation against herself and to avoid compromising the Queen, whose friend she was considered to be.

The want of money made itself felt severely in every branch of the Administration, and in order to obviate the inconvenience arising from such a state of things, the sale of the national forests was proposed. But such weighty arguments were brought forward as to the danger of resorting to such a step that the Assembly passed to the order of the day.

Goyer, a declared atheist, after having made a most impious speech, succeeded in inducing the Assembly to decree that marriages should no longer be solemnised in church, but at the foot of the tree of liberty; he added attacks against every kind of religion, which he would fain have seen abolished. The fear of the bad effect which this decree appeared to produce led to its speedy revocation.

In spite of the distressing condition of the troops, who were destitute, Dumouriez, sure of the confidence of the Assembly, requested and obtained 6,000,000 francs for his secret expenses. He made this request subsequent to the refusal of the King of Sardinia to receive M. de Semonville as Ambassador, his Majesty accusing him of spreading insurrection in his States. He informed the Assembly of the letter he had written in the

name of the King to the Chargé d'Affaires to demand satisfaction for this insult, ordering the latter to return to France if the refusal to receive M. de Semonville was persisted in. His conduct was approved of and gained him much applause.

The position of the royal family became worse and worse every day. The courage and firmness of the Queen redoubled the rage of the rebels. Though in deep sorrow, she always displayed a calm countenance and a bearing full of dignity. The most disgusting insults were levelled at her even from underneath her windows, coupled with threats calculated to alarm a courage less firm than hers. She occasionally went to Saint Cloud with her children, to get some fresh air and a little distraction. One day when she was more than usually sad at heart, she sent the children to play some distance away, and when she was alone with Madame de Tarente and me, she said to us,—"I must open my heart to somebody as reliable as you, of whose attachment I am sure. I am wounded to the quick in my most sensitive feelings. When I came to France, on the advice of my mother I placed confidence in the Count de Mercy. She said to me,—'He knows France well and has been ambassador there for a long time; he can give you advice calculated to ensure your success in the country where you are destined to reign; consider it as coming from me, and be persuaded that you will receive none but good advice from him.' I was fourteen

years of age, and I loved and respected my mother. I placed my confidence in M. de Mercy; I looked upon him as a father, and now I am grieved to find that I have been mistaken, so little sympathy has he now with my sad position. M. de Breteuil for his part, always looks to his own interest in all he does for us, and we cannot have thorough confidence in him. The King is most displeased with M. de la Queuille, who writes to him in the most extraordinary style."

These letters must indeed have been very extraordinary, for the King, who never alluded to politics, said one day before me, "M. de Queuille speaks very ill of us, and he will be astonished when he comes one day to read calmly all the letters he has written to me, and I have kept."

The Queen then told us that she did not conceal from herself any of the dangers she ran, but that she did not wish to allow herself to be cast down by them, being anxious, on the contrary, to preserve the courage she so much needed. Madame de Tarente and I were very grieved by this conversation, and far more occupied with her danger than with any we might incur; but she, not wishing to give way, recalled her children, joined in their play, and returned to Paris without any sign of the emotion she had displayed.

Shortly afterwards I was once more a witness of another trait of the lofty soul of this Princess, which made a deep impression on me.

Several people, alarmed by the danger she might run, proposed to her a sure means of escape. She mentioned it to me, insisting on my saying frankly what I should do in her place. "Would you leave the King and your children," she said to me, "in order to secure your own safety?" I begged her not to put me to such a proof, and to excuse me from replying. "I have made up my mind," she then said; "I should look upon leaving the King and my children in danger as the basest cowardice. Besides, what would existence be to me without those dear objects, who alone can make me cling to a life as unhappy as mine? Confess that in my place you would do the same." It was impossible for me to gainsay her, as I thoroughly agreed with her.

Audacity was carried so far as to speak of separating the Queen from the King, and sending her to Val de Grâce, in order to prevent her from giving advice to his Majesty. She was in a state of anxiety about this for several days, and with admirable courage and calmness she took all necessary precautions to avoid compromising herself or those persons who were attached to her, and who warned her of what was transpiring. She spent several nights in sorting her papers with Madame Campan, one of her principal ladies, in whom she had much confidence, and she even gave her some to burn in her own room carefully, so as not to leave any traces of too much paper having been destroyed. I owe this testimony to the cause of truth—that Madame Campan, despite

the calumnies incessantly spread about her, never abused the confidence which the Queen under various circumstances reposed in her, and that she always kept profoundly secret whatever her Majesty confided in her, without ever seeking to turn it to her own advantage.

The Queen was always the butt of the rage of the rebels. Irritated by the great courage she invariably displayed, they never lost an opportunity of venting their fury against her. Ever great in private as well as in public, she made a remark to me in connection with the horrible proposition to separate her from the King, which I cannot omit to record. "The King," I said to her, "will never allow such an atrocious plan to be carried out." "I should prefer it," she said heroically, "to exposing his life, if his refusal would have that effect."

The King, having heard that the printed *Mémoires de Madame de la Motte* had been sent from England to the librarian Greffier, and fearing justly the eagerness with which the lies they contained would be received, thought it prudent to prevent their circulation, and bought up the edition himself. After having discussed with M. de la Porte the best means of destroying it without leaving any traces of it, he decided that it should be made up in packages and be burnt in the furnace of the porcelain manufactory of Sèvres, which belonged to the King; and this was done in presence of M. de la Porte, and MM. Regnier and Gérard, respectively director and

artist of the manufactory, assisted by two workmen, who opened the packages and then threw them into the fire.

The Municipality of Saint Cloud, having heard that papers had been burnt in the furnace of the manufactory, denounced to the Assembly the burning of a large quantity of papers which might be proofs of a huge plot, the traces of which it was desired to destroy. M. de la Porte, as well as those who had helped to burn these papers, were ordered to present themselves at once to the Assembly. They simply recounted what had been done, and the denunciation had no result.

The fresh decree passed against the unsworn priests was another source of annoyance to the royal family. The rebels, enraged by their submission to the law, and their respect for the dictates of their conscience, after a long preamble on the danger of leaving unpunished a class of men who refused to take the required oaths, decreed that in cases where twenty capable citizens of the same Canton demanded the banishment of one or more ecclesiastics, the directorate of the Department should be bound to order it, if its opinion should be in conformity with the petition ; if not, it should be bound to have an inquiry made by commissioners as to whether the presence of ecclesiastics was adverse to public order. In case of an affirmative decision, the directorate should be bound to order banishment.

As the sanction of the King could not be obtained

to a decree as revolting as this, they did all they could to get it by force—pamphlets against the royal family, infamous *brochures*, nothing was spared; and as, in spite of their power, the Royal Guard, by no means disposed to lend itself to their projects, was a source of uneasiness to them, they began to insult it, in the hope of seeing it defend itself, so that thus they might contrive a pretext for demanding its disbandment. The Assembly, as anxious as it was powerless, could not see the large number of people from the various Provinces, who took refuge in Paris for the sake of better security, without taking umbrage at it. It consequently passed a fresh decree about passports, which compelled every person arriving in Paris without having formerly had a residence there, to present himself within a week of his arrival before the Commissary of the section he proposed to inhabit, to have his passport endorsed and his name, condition, ordinary domicile, and residence in Paris registered. The same formalities had to be undergone by every person coming to Paris, if only for three days; and every tenant, and outside or inside porter, was bound to make a similar declaration, on pain of a fine and three months' imprisonment. To this was added a prohibition against housing any persons not furnished with passports, without giving notice beforehand to the section.

As all the efforts of the Assembly to corrupt the Royal Guard were futile, they proceeded to more and more serious insults, in the hope of provoking

a quarrel; but as the excellent spirit of the Guard, and its attachment to his Majesty, led it to bear everything with equal courage and patience, the Assembly had recourse to a letter from Péthion in order to rouse the public mind and foster extreme anxiety on account of a plot devised against liberty. Chabot and the members of his party recommenced their declamations, while Péthion declared that the public weal was in danger, and entreated the citizens to rise and demand the permanence of the Assembly. Believing the time favourable for attempting an insurrection against the Castle, he secretly abetted a band of people armed with pikes and sticks, who tried to provoke the Royal Guard, and to place over the principal gateway of the Castle the tri-colour flag and the cap of liberty. They insulted the King and the royal family by the most frightful remarks, and they attempted, but in vain, to force their way into the Castle. The gates were shut close, the Royal Guard was at its post, and this first attempt was a failure.

In the afternoon of the same day Péthion reported to the Assembly that Paris was quiet for the time being, but that it was becoming the meeting-place of the enemies of the public weal, and that everything pointed to a violent crisis. He stated that the spirit of the National Guard was excellent, and that all the citizens had risen at the call of the Assembly; and then he added:—"Show yourselves ever great, and invariably inflexible;

maintain your imposing attitude, and fear nothing." The Assembly then allowed a portion of the Gobelins section to march through its hall. They numbered about two thousand, including women and children. They were armed with pikes, swords, scythes, etc., and carried a red cap by way of a flag. They marched through the hall to the sound of six drums, amid applause and shouts of "Long live the Nation!" When they had gone out Barrière made a report upon the Constitutional Guard of the King, whom he accused of a want of patriotism, and of contempt for the national colours, the decrees of the Assembly, and all respectable *sans-culottes;* according to him, it had displayed insulting joy over the disasters of our army. And without adducing any proof of these charges, he recommended the disbandment of the Guard. Several members tried to make him bring forward proofs of his denunciation. He was in an awkward dilemma, but he was successfully extricated from it by a deputation of Invalides, who denounced their commanders for having given an order to open the gates to any armed band, whether the National or the Royal Guard, by day or night.

M. de Sombreuil, Governor of the Invalides, acknowledged having issued the order in question, in order to provide a refuge for the members of the Royal and National Guards, in case the disturbances reported to exist in Paris should force them to have recourse to it, and to allow of any armed band entering without opposition, seeing that he was

destitute of means of defence, and was anxious to avoid bloodshed. This answer was deemed satisfactory, and he was sent back to the Invalides.

The consideration of the report on the Royal Guard was resumed. Couthon insisted on the necessity of freeing the neighbourhood of the Assembly from a handful of brigands who were conspiring against the country, and he proposed to bring this about by means of the police, in order to avoid the *veto*.

Damas, Ramond, Jaucourt and several other deputies spoke against this, and demanded that the accused should be heard, and that M. de Brissac should be summoned to the bar of the House. "To Orleans!" said Lasource. "He is guilty," exclaimed the rebels, "and there is no need for us to hear him!" MM. Calvet and Frondières, having insisted strongly on the injustice of this measure, were sent to the Abbaye for three days, and the decree for the disbandment of the Guard, and the despatch of M. de Brissac to Orleans, was passed.

The object of the uproar of this day was to alarm the King and the Ministers so as to obtain his sanction to the decree. It was passed at night, and sent at once to his Majesty. Nobody in the Castle had gone to bed; everybody was in a state of consternation; and even those who were not entirely to be trusted were as desirous as we were that the King should veto this decree at all risks. But the Ministers, who, independently of their agreement

with the Assembly, dreaded for themselves the withholding of the sanction, so strongly represented to the King the danger he would bring upon his family, those who were attached to him, and even M. de Brissac, whose situation he would render even more alarming—they tormented him so with the idea of the excesses to which the populace would give way, that they drew from him this fatal sanction, which filled the King with bitterness, and was one more weapon in the hands of the rebels.

The King issued an order at once to the effect that, wishing to recognise the zeal and affection of his Guard, he would continue to all its members the pay they received, which he would have increased had it been possible; that he gave them all leave to go where they pleased; and that he would allow them to remain in the École Militaire until such time as they had found house room for themselves. The Assembly, for its part, permitted the officers and men to revert, either in their original corps, or in others of the line, to the rank which they would have been holding had they remained in them. A few took advantage of this; some emigrated; and the majority remained in Paris and the suburbs—especially the officers — none of whom would go away, wishing to be able to be of use should an opportunity offer.

The conduct of M. de Brissac in this instance was heroic. Not a single complaint escaped him. He courageously said farewell to his friends; looked

calmly and quietly on the consternation of those around him; won honour from a decree which proved his constant fidelity; uttered a wish that the King might reap the benefit of the sacrifice which had been forced from him; and assured him, on leaving, that his position did not in any way diminish his attachment, or his desire to give proof of it, should circumstances permit.

The departure of the Guard of the King for the Champ de Mars, where they were to be disbanded, was a very touching sight. Everybody, with tearful eyes and a sad heart, was at the windows to do a last homage to this brave and faithful Guard. The King, the royal family, and the persons of every class who were attached to them, were plunged in the most profound grief. We thought continually of the good Duke de Brissac, and we were not without anxiety in regard to the arrival of the Royal Guard at the École Militaire. In order to shield it from the insults of the rabble, it had to be escorted by a detachment of the National Guard, and it arrived safe and sound, except for the insults, which it despised. The commanding officers, after having marched it there, returned to the Tuileries to receive the orders of the King about the disbandment. The Guard, not even excepting those who were suspected of not sharing the opinions of their comrades, was enraged against the Assembly and the Jacobins.

M. d'Hervilly was with the King by noon, and

said to him: — "Sire, I have just left eighteen hundred men who are animated with a deep sense of injury, and with the sincerest attachment to your Majesty. The decree of the Assembly allows them to perceive only too clearly all it had in view in dismissing so faithful a Guard from its attendance on you. They burn with the desire to avenge the insult offered to your Majesty, and eighteen hundred men determined to conquer or to die are a tower of strength. At a word from your Majesty they would fall on the Jacobins and the rebels in the Assembly. The miscreants are weak if they meet with resistance, and this may possibly be a very precious day whereon to defend the royal cause. If we succeed, we shall achieve the happiness of France; if we fail, disavow me, accuse me, and let the anger of the Assembly fall on me. If I have not the good fortune to save my King from the fury of his enemies, I shall esteem myself happy in dying in so good a cause. I can only give your Majesty two hours to decide; later there will be no time, and such an opportunity will never occur again."

The King, frightened at such a step, in case of failure, dared not attempt it, and this proposal was buried in profound secrecy. At half-past one on that day I took Mgr. the Dauphin to the Queen, with whom he had dined for some time past. She took me aside, and said to me,—"You see me at this moment in great anxiety. You have heard

this proposal of M. d'Hervilly; it is great and honourable, but it would bring about such disastrous results if it did not succeed, that the King cannot make up his mind to accept it; and under these circumstances I should reproach myself if I influenced his decision." Nobody could possibly have been more devoted to the King, or could have given him more marks of attachment or better advice, than M. d'Hervilly did throughout the Revolution. The energy of his character made him invariably oppose the half measures, which he considered more injurious than useful, and I can bear witness to the fact that he frequently pointed out the danger of hovering between the Constitutional and Jacobin parties. Although his advice was not listened to, he remained none the less profoundly attached to the King, ever near him on the slightest appearance of danger, and ready to carry out his orders, whatever might be the danger they made him incur.

The King and Queen forbade Mgr. the Dauphin to say anything about what transpired. He never opened his mouth in public; but not deeming it necessary to exercise the same discretion with the Abbé Davaux, myself, and my daughter Pauline, he did not conceal from us his sorrow at the dismissal of the Guard. Pauline seconded me perfectly in the care I took to form his heart and mind; and although she never overlooked anything, and reproved his little faults on every occasion, he was none the

less fond of her. Her youth inspired him with confidence, and she took advantage of it merely to be useful to him. She was, moreover, so kind to him that he could not do without her. He said to me one day very seriously that he had a favour to ask of us, and that as it was in my power to grant it to him, I must promise not to refuse it. "I am six years old," he said, "and at seven I must be handed over to men. Promise not to marry Pauline till then; I should be so sorry to leave her. No, you must not refuse me, my dear Pauline." And, throwing his arms round her neck, he kissed her with perfect grace and amiability. She had not much trouble in acceding to his request; her attachment to the royal family made her afraid of contracting any engagement which might hinder her from giving them every mark of her entire devotion; and she and I understood that there should be no idea of her establishment until the King, the Queen, and their august children should be more happily situated. It was impossible to consider the question of marriage with hearts filled with grief, and at a time so critical that it was impossible to say what would happen on the morrow. This Pauline, of whom I shall speak more in detail in connection with the sorrowful scenes of which I was a witness, married, in 1797, the Count de Béarn, who served in the King's Guard; but by her conduct she did so much honour to the name of Pauline, that I shall give her no other in these Memoirs.

During the short time that the King had his Guard, we took Mgr. the Dauphin for some pleasant outings in the neighbourhood of Paris, but events became so serious, and we were so far from being sure of those who accompanied us, that we afterwards rarely left the little garden allotted to Mgr. the Dauphin. The Abbé Davaux managed to give him pleasant occupation in it, and when he returned to his rooms his lessons were made so interesting that he was sorry when they were over. One day he made us very pleased and very sorry at one and the same time. "My good Abbé," he said to the Abbé Davaux when his lesson was over, "I am so happy I have so good a papa and mamma, and in you and my kind Madame de Tourzel I have a second papa and a second mamma." The tears came to our eyes as we thought that at any moment this loving child might be hurled into an abyss of misfortune, the extent of which we were far from foreseeing. He never lost any opportunity of saying tender and loving things to us; and it was impossible to consider the excessive restraint imposed upon us by the sad circumstances in which we were placed, as at all unfortunate so far as he was concerned.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE YEAR 1792.

Proposal of a Camp of Twenty Thousand Men in Paris—Manuel and the Fête Dieu—Denunciation of Chabot—The Duke of Orleans—Letter of M. Roland made public before the King knew of it—The King appoints new Ministers—Courageous Proceedings of the Directorate of Paris to remedy the evils which the Letter of M. Roland was calculated to produce—Means adopted to contrive a Rising in Paris—The 20th of June—Consequences of this Day, and methods of the Rebels to hasten the Overthrow of the Monarchy.

THE Assembly, seeing no obstacle in the way of the carrying out of its plans, made rapid strides towards the end it had in view. The Minister of War, who was entirely devoted to it, proposed to it that each Canton should elect four foot soldiers and four cavalry men, well armed, to join the National Guard of Paris on the 14th of July; and to send various bodies of this Guard to the frontier, and hand over their guns to the Federates. This proposal was strongly opposed by MM. de Jaucourt, Damas, and de Girardin, and there were some very animated debates on the subject. They, however, could not prevent a decree for the establishment of

a camp of twenty thousand men, selected from among the citizens who had served in the National Guards of the kingdom. A pretext was found for relieving the troops of the Line, who had been sent to the frontiers by reason of the attachment they bore to His Majesty.

This decree displeased a portion of the National Guard, and several members of various battalions signed a petition for a report in regard to it.

The Commandant of the National Guard gave an account to the Assembly of the bad effect it was producing, and informed it that a petition would be presented to it by two members of the National Guard, which would be signed individually, as by the Constitution an armed body was not allowed to present itself as a whole.

Vergniaud inveighed against the deputies who opposed the decrees, accusing them of having roused the discontent of the National Guard, by making it afraid that it was going to be deprived of its guns.

The Assembly gave a very unfavourable reception to the petition, and although it was signed by eight thousand persons, it pretended that the signatures were not spontaneous, and referred it without reading it to the Watch Committee and that of Legislation.

The Fête Dieu drew near. Manuel, as great a foe to religion as he was to kings, placarded the streets of Paris with a manifesto that he saw no use in the National Guard accompanying the processions, even though they were composed of sworn priests.

A tumult was feared on this occasion, but everything passed off quietly, and in spite of the insinuation of Manuel, many of the National Guard joined in the processions.

Manuel, though suspended from his duties *pro tem.*, held his head as high as ever. He was accused and convicted of having stolen the letters and works of Mirabeau from the police offices; and of having sold them on his own account. Anybody else would have been severely punished for such a crime, but he reckoned with reason that the credit of his friends would prevent the accusation from having any result. He was not mistaken; he was reinstated in his post, although he could offer no justification for so manifest a theft.

Péthion, at the head of the artillery of Paris, went to assure the Assembly that it might rely upon their patriotism. The spokesman of these battalions, in complaining of the infamous rumours current in regard to the return of the nobility and the creation of two Chambers, offered his services to the representatives of the nation for the maintenance of liberty and equality.

Some blacksmiths, burning with ardour to forge pikes in defence of this same liberty, went also to do similar homage; shouting at the top of their voices, "Tremble, aristocrats, we are afoot!" They were followed by the market-porters, who demanded that the title of porters of the law should be granted to them.

Chabot, in order to keep his promise to furnish proofs of the existence of the Austrian Committee, denounced a multitude of persons, among others MM. Bertrand, Duport du Tertre, de Montmorin, de Brissac, de Lessart, Barnave, Chapellier, Lameth, and others, without sparing even M. de la Fayette; but as this latter denunciation caused some murmuring, he explained it by pretending that he only wished to warn him of the sentiments that were attributed to him, but that he was far from crediting him with them. He, moreover, denounced the order of the King relative to the Royal Guard, placing the most perfidious interpretation upon it.

So many denunciations led to a frightful tumult in the House. Some shouted, "Oh! the wretch! the rascal!" Others replied, "To the Abbaye! to the Abbaye!" And although the denunciations were entirely destitute of proof, they were none the less referred to the Committees for examination.

Raymond Ribes then spoke for the purpose of denouncing a real plot in existence since the 6th of October, with the object of placing the Duke d'Orleans on the throne. "I discover it," he said, "in the days of the 5th and 6th of October, in the 18th of February 1791, in the daily dangers incurred by the King and Queen, in the scandalous scene of the Châteauvieux *fête*, in the escape of Jourdan, in the lavishly-paid mission of M. de Talleyrand to England, in the insults heaped upon the King and Queen, in the six millions given to

Dumouriez, and in the atrocious libels of Carra, Noël, and Bonne-Carrère, in which infamous names are given to the King and Queen by the hawkers of these odious pamphlets, and I conclude by demanding the arrest of the Duke d'Orleans, Dumouriez, and the other persons above named."

As it was awkward to reply to such assertions, Raymond Ribes was simply treated as a lunatic, and the Assembly passed to the order of the day.

The object of the Assembly in employing such means, was to disgust the King with his right of veto, and to lead him to renounce it. All the patriots therefore congregated in the streets and squares of Paris, shouting, "Down with M. and Madame Veto!" names which they had the insolence to give to the King and Queen, accompanying them with epithets as infamous as their designs. They hoped at least to support the efforts of Ministers to obtain the sanction for the decree against the priests, and for the camp of twenty thousand men in Paris and the suburbs; but the King, who thought himself bound in conscience to refuse this, persisted in his resolution.

In order to induce him to give way, the Minister Roland wrote him a so-called confidential letter, which, however, he took good care to circulate throughout Paris. Its substance was that the French were resolved upon maintaining the Constitution which had been given to them, and that they looked upon war with pleasure as a means of

succeeding in this; that all the persons about the King, seeing themselves deprived by it of the great privileges they had hitherto enjoyed, must naturally desire to overthrow it; that the alternative before the King, of either yielding to his natural inclinations or sacrificing them to philosophy and imperious necessity, disquieted the nation and emboldened the rebels; that it was time to put an end to this uncertainty by uniting himself frankly to the nation, and by adopting the sentiments of the Corps Législatif; that the decrees recently passed gave him the opportunity for doing this; that by adopting them, the King would inspire that confidence which was so necessary to him, and without which he might expect great misfortunes; that his opposition to public opinion had resulted on several occasions in zeal taking the place of law; that the Revolution was an accomplished fact, and would be cemented in blood, if the wisdom of his Majesty did not prevent disasters which might yet be avoided; that those people were in error who sought to inspire in him distrust of a nation who would cover him with blessings if it saw him aiding the progress of the Constitution.

He accused the conduct of the priests of having been the cause of the decree passed against him, and he pointed out to the King that the default of his sanction would force the Departments to violent measures, and that the irritated nation would supplement them by excesses. He complained of the

attempts of the National Guard to prevent the formation of a camp near Paris, which, it was supposed, were instigated by an impulse from high quarters; and he insisted upon the fear that, if his Majesty deferred his sanction, the people would only look upon him as the friend of the conspirators. He at length concluded this curious letter by representing that the Princes, by refusing to listen to useful truths, would render conspiracies necessary; and that, so far as he was concerned, he had fulfilled his duty as a Minister by placing all these considerations before the eyes of his Majesty.

The King, highly indignant, called upon Roland to resign, and appointed M. Mourgues in his place. The latter was a Protestant, a good man at heart, but a Republican in disposition, who under a veil of modesty concealed intense ambition.

Dumouriez, believing himself to be absolutely necessary, demanded the sanction of the King to the two decrees in a very imperious manner, and thought to bring him to it by saying in an insolent tone, that if he did not give it on the spot, he would resign. The King, wounded to the quick, rose and said to him, "This is too much, M. Dumouriez, and I accept your resignation." Astonishment took the place of audacity. When he recovered himself, he vowed to revenge himself and make the King repent of having dismissed him; and he unfortunately kept his promise only too well.

The King, seeing that he had nothing to gain by retaining a Jacobin Ministry, determined to appoint one whose composition might inspire more confidence.

He had great difficulty in getting anybody to accept posts as dangerous under existing circumstances as those of Ministers: but he nevertheless succeeded in filling them with men whose conduct was prudent and even courageous in the last moments of the Monarchy.

M. de Monciel, President of the Department of the Jura, was appointed Minister of Interior in the room of M. Mourgues, who only held that office for two days; M. de la Jarre, aide-de-camp to M. de la Fayette, was made Minister of War; M. de Chambonas, of Foreign Affairs; and M. de Beaulieu, first Commissioner of the Treasury. M. Duranthon, Minister of Justice, was the only one who retained his portfolio.

The selections were generally approved, except in the case of M. de Chambonas. He had lived very fast in his youth, and had got his affairs into such confusion that, having no other resource, he had made up his mind to marry the daughter of Madame Sabattier, the mistress of M. de Saint Florentin, a Minister of Louis XV. This marriage had embroiled him with all his family. He had, moreover, a somewhat unfavourable reputation, and his selection caused general astonishment. He was a very flighty being, though not devoid of talent; but the weight of office

was beyond his strength, and he was very shortly afterwards replaced by M. Bigot de Sainte Croix.

While Roland was circulating his letter in the towns and Departments, possibly before it reached the King, the directorate of the Department of Paris wrote to him to say that all the rumours of conspiracy were unfounded, and that all these terrors by which the populace was agitated, were as opposed to their peace as to their happiness. It complained of having to witness the unmolested establishment in Paris of a society holding public sittings, having its offices for the purpose of dictating laws throughout the kingdom, denouncing at its own good pleasure, openly calumniating and deriding every administration, occupied daily in vilifying the King and his Ministers, and allowing the printing of a newspaper which countenanced murder and pillage, protected evil-doers, and was freely circulated in order to instil into the public mind so sinister a doctrine.

It needed courage to write such a letter under such circumstances, and it might have opened the eyes of any but a blind Minister; but it could produce no effect on a man who thought everything permissible so long as it was to the profit of liberty and equality.

M. de la Fayette informed the Assembly of a success gained by his army, which repulsed the enemy near Maubeuge. It was bought by the death of M. de Gouvion, formerly a major of the National Guard, and a distinguised officer, of whom I have had

ceased to speak more than once in these Memoirs. It was stated that in despair, by reason of the turn taken by the Revolution, he sought death, and that he exposed himself so that he succeeded in having an end put to a life that had become odious to him.

M. de la Fayette, dismayed by the power of the Jacobins and fearing that the excesses to which they gave way would end in the annihilation of the Constitution, took advantage of this opportunity to represent to the Assembly the danger of allowing a power to raise itself above the law which would in the end dictate laws to it, and would cause liberty to perish amid the horrors of anarchy; and he pointed out that it was bent upon universal destruction while the army was fighting for the preservation of the Constitution; and that it was the duty of the Assembly to warn it of the bad effect produced by its excesses, as well as of the depreciation of the power of constituted authority.

This letter produced no effect on the Assembly; indeed, the majority of its members, in league with the Jacobins, shared their sentiments. The terror which they inspired had given them an imposing majority, and they despised the complaints of the minority in regard to the violation of the Constitution and the consequent abuse of power. Their suspicion that there was some connection between the letter of M. de la Fayette and the step taken by the Department of Paris, rendered them all the more eager

to hasten the execution of their plans for the destruction of the Monarchy.

The King informed the Assembly of the change of Ministry. It was so assured of the speedy destruction of royalty that it appeared insensible to the dismissal of men who had every right to its gratitude, and it contented itself with saying, for form's sake, that they carried with them the regrets of the nation. It became more and more bitter against the King, and received with every honour the most inflammatory, insulting, and menacing petitions against the royal authority, and even against the person of his Majesty.

The deputies of the Left, such as Isnard, Duquesnoy, and others, uttered speeches worthy of these petitions, and everything pointed to a speedy crisis. The directorate of the Department informed the King and the Assembly of the request of the inhabitants of the Faubourg Saint Antoine and Saint Marceau that they should be permitted to assemble under arms on the 20th of June, and present a petition to the Corps Législatif, in their dress of 1789. The Department added the reasons why it had refused this request, a refusal based upon the law forbidding the presentation of petitions by armed people ; and it forwarded to his Majesty the order it had issued requiring the Mayor and other authorities to neglect no measure of prudence to prevent this meeting.

The Assembly, which was better acquainted than

the Department with the object of it, did not condescend to pay any attention to this report, and, by way of reply, merely passed to the order of the day.

The conduct observed by it in this matter leaves no room for doubt as to the part it played in connection with the events of the fearful day we are about to describe.

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THE 20TH OF JUNE.

As the refusal of the directorate did not prevent the projected meetings, Roederer informed the Assembly that the formidable numbers of the crowd who were assembling for the purpose of planting an aspen tree at the gate of the Tuileries gave reason to fear that the multitude would attack the Castle and proceed to excesses, and that the directorate had consequently ordered out the troops, so as to obviate the impending danger.

Before ten o'clock the Carrousel was already filled with an immense crowd, and the National gendarmerie lined the approaches to the Castle. It was under the command of M. de Rulhières, an honest man and attached to the King, whose zeal, however, was paralyzed by the Municipality, under whose orders he was. M. de Winttinghoff, a patriot, commanded the troops, and the interiors of the courtyards and gardens were guarded by the National

Guard with their guns. The two faubourgs whose meeting was announced, were joined *en route* by an armed multitude which, without taking any trouble to ascertain what was the demand to be made to the King, without knowing anything, and without any definite wish, careless, furious, and gay at one and the same time, marched, sang, made the most infamous remarks about the King and the royal family, and bent its steps towards the Assembly, to which it considered it ought to pay its homage.

Santerre, the general of this new militia, wrote to the Assembly that the citizens of the Faubourgs Saint Antoine and Saint Marceau, assembled to celebrate the anniversary of the oath of the tennis-court, requested permission to appear at the bar of the House, and march past the fathers of the country, adding a complaint that their intentions had been misrepresented.

The discussion commenced, and several deputies asked if it would not be unconstitutional to permit the entrance into the Assembly of an armed body who might influence its decisions. They were of opinion that the sitting should be suspended, and that especial attention should be paid to the safety of the King; but the Jacobins opposed this, wishing to enjoy their success and receive the homage of their soldiers. Vergniaud was not even ashamed to reply that if the King was in danger, a deputation might be sent to him, and a decree passed to prohibit such admissions henceforward, dating from the

next day. The uproar continued, the deputation grew tired of it, and announced that it represented eight thousand men. It was then suggested that the petitioners should be disarmed, but the Jacobins opposed this. The deputation complained that they were kept waiting, sent word that they were at the door, and an usher thought the simplest way out of the difficulty was to open it. Immediately the whole crowd of *sans-culottes* appeared at the bar, rushed in fully armed, and the Assembly allowed them to march past, after having listened to a speech against the King, in which the petitioners announced that the people were ready to avenge themselves, and that if Capet did not alter his conduct, there would be nothing left of him.

The speech ended, the march began. A military band, playing the "*Ça ira*," headed the deputation, which took two hours and a half to march past. Among the crowd were many of the National Guard with their muskets; the remainder were armed with pikes, hooks of various kinds, clubs, pitchforks, hatchets, stakes, and scythes.

At intervals the various companies were distinguished by caps of different colours, and even by pairs of breeches, carried on a pole. The applause of the Jacobins and the galleries was continual, while the Constitutionalists trembled, and the more cowardly among them cheered. Péthion, who in the morning had declared that what was going on was merely a civic *fête*, and who had entreated the National

Guard to join these honest citizens, had departed to Versailles; and the indignant Department in vain sought for him to demand from him an explanation of what was transpiring.

The account which reached the Tuileries caused the greatest alarm there. The King, the Queen, and all the royal family were assembled in the apartments of the King as the safest place, awaiting for the issue of the fatal day with the greatest anxiety. The position of the King was most critical; his only guard was the National Guard, who filled the Castle but refused to defend it. Not content with remaining neutral, they even proposed to drive out of the King's apartments the faithful servants of his Majesty who had come there to serve as a rampart and to defend his life at the expense of their own. The King, in order to deprive the National Guard of all pretext for insurrection, made up his mind to send them away; and they, in their turn, compelled everybody who was not in their uniform to leave the courtyards. It was three o'clock. The deputation at the Assembly wanted to cross the Tuileries and insult the King under the very windows of his rooms. An order had been given to allow nobody to enter the garden, and at the gate of the Terrasse des Feuillants there was a guard of fifty men who were resolved to carry out this order; but a Municipal officer, declaring that it was a civic *fête*, opened the gate himself and allowed the crowd to enter the garden. Shouts

then were heard from all sides of "Down with the veto! Long live the nation and the *sans-culottes!*"

The National Guard, alarmed by their twofold engagement to defend the King and please this multitude, was in a state of stupor which did little honour to its courage. It quietly witnessed the march of this multitude in the same order as in the Assembly, and heard it insult the King by abominable remarks, the boldest among the crowd even threatening him with justice.

After having traversed the gardens to and fro, the leaders of the crowd, assured of not meeting with any resistance on the part of the National Guard, whose gunners had fraternised with their own men, and seeing that they could attempt anything without running any danger, bent their steps towards the Castle. They led their men out of the gate of the Tuileries leading to the Pont Royal, passed through the small gates without opposition from the National Guard, and went to effect a junction with the portion of their army which was advancing along the Rue Saint Nicaise. The large gate of the Tuileries, which was half open, was shut on the appearance of the army of pike bearers. They attempted to force it, and one of their leaders, a negro and a vehement patriot, advanced the gun, and called upon his men to swear that they would enter the Castle. They all swore, and at that moment the gates were opened by order of a Municipal officer. M. de Romainvilliers, Colonel of Division,

who was that day in command of the National Guard, a man of feeble character and always in dread of compromising himself, remained inactive, and the National Guard, in the absence of any order from its chief, made no opposition. The brave Acloque, Battalion Commandant, who never abandoned the King in danger, proposed to the maddened crowd that they should choose forty of their number to convey their petition to the King. He was not listened to, and in five minutes the courtyard, staircases, and halls were filled with twenty thousand men, armed similarly to those who had marched through the Assembly, and who, in their furious excitement, dragged their gun up the staircase, and into the hall of the Cent-Suisses, then allotted to the Body Guard.

The King, the Queen, and the royal family were in the little bedroom occupied by his Majesty, surrounded by a few faithful servants whom they had permitted to remain near them. The King, seeing that the doors were on the point of being forced, wished to go to meet the rebels and see if his presence would have any effect on them. He started to go; one of the National Guard went up to him, begged him not to go any farther, and prayed to be allowed to remain by his side. The King, touched by the devotion of this brave man, begged him to follow him, but to be calm, and he then went on. He requested that the Queen and the children might be taken away, being anxious to expose himself alone to the danger. When her Majesty left the King, with

her eyes bathed in tears, she addressed these touching words, in a tone heartfelt and full of confidence, to those around him, "Frenchmen, my friends, grenadiers, save the King!"

His Majesty, still advancing, gave the order to open the Œil-de-Bœuf door, which was between him and the brigands. The latter had already forced the door opposite to that through which the King was going to meet them. Acloque had returned to the King, whom he found surrounded by Marshal de Mouchy, and MM. d'Hervilly, de Tourzel (my son), de Septeuil, d'Aubier, de Bourcet, de Joly, a gunner and brother of the actress of that name, and several other servants of his Majesty who had contrived to get near him.

Knots of rebels hustled the King. One wretch, armed with a pike, and with his eyes full of rage, advanced, making a sinister movement; Vanot, Commandant of the Sainte Opportune battalion, rushed on the monster and turned his weapon aside; a grenadier of the same battalion parried a blow from a sword which was aimed for the commission of the same crime. The grenadiers, who were in a state of indignation, wanted to draw their swords, but Acloque was wise enough to see the danger of so imprudent a resistance. "No arms!" he shouted; "you will cause the assassination of the King." And he contrived to place his Majesty in the embrasure of a window, while he and Marshal de Mouchy placed themselves before him.

Madame Elizabeth, seeing the danger incurred by the King, would not leave him, and took up a position in the embrasure of the window next to that occupied by the King. The Ministers followed her there. She was consequently taken for the Queen. Seeing the rebels coming towards her shouting, "The Austrian! where is she? Her head! her head!" she spoke, with the calmness of virtue which never deserted her, these sublime words to those around her, "Do not undeceive them; if they take me for the Queen, there will be time to save her." A maniac presented his pike at her throat. "You would not do me any harm," she said sweetly; "put aside your weapon."

Shouts and uproar were heard on all sides. Every standard bore a threat, which was displayed before the eyes of the King. On one was, "Tremble, tyrants, the people are armed;" on another, "Union of the Faubourgs Saint Antoine and Saint Marceau, we are the *sans-culottes*." Every word spoken to him was an insult. A red cap was presented to him on the end of a pike; a grenadier put it on his head, with ribands of the three colours: he accepted them all. The crowd pressed towards him and demanded to see him; he mounted on to the window seat with the calm courage that never deserted him in the hour of danger. Suffocated by the heat, and almost dead with thirst, he expressed a wish for a glass of water; a grenadier handed him a bottle; he drank out of it without any hesitation, and

without appearing to realise that it was an act of courage. Another man begged him to fear nothing, assuring him that he might look upon his body as a rampart. "A man who has nothing with which to reproach himself," replied the King, "knows neither fear nor dread." And taking the man's hand he placed it on his heart and said, "See if it beats more quickly."

M. de la Jarre, Minister of War, seeing the danger incurred by the King, went to the court-yard by an unfrequented staircase, shouting, "Twenty grenadiers to protect his Majesty!" He led them up the King's staircase; it was obstructed. From all sides came the clatter of arms, and the most outrageous remarks against the King. He then brought them round by another way, through a door in the form of a window, into the room where the King was. They increased the number of his defenders, and formed a line from the first window where Madame Elizabeth was, to that where the King was standing, surrounded by the persons I have already mentioned. The crowd did not stop marching past his Majesty, and their number was so great that they seemed to spring out of the ground. They made a youth pass before his Majesty, carrying a bleeding calf's head with this device, "Heart of the aristocrats." One man seeing the cockade in the King's hat, presented another to Madame Elizabeth, who at once put it in her cap.

The Queen was, fortunately, at some distance

from the King when he resolved upon presenting himself to the multitude; but she was bent upon returning to him and sharing his dangers. She was with great difficulty persuaded that, in so critical a state of things, her place was by the side of her children, and that, moreover, she ought to conform to the wish of the King, who had felt that the sight of her danger would shake the courage he needed so much. She had to be dragged almost by force to the rooms occupied by Mgr. the Dauphin, the doors of which had been fastened with hooks and nails. M. Hüe, fearing that these rooms might be broken into, in a moment of zeal carried the young Prince into Madame's rooms, thinking them safe, so rapidly that I could hardly follow him. When the Queen reached the rooms of Mgr. the Dauphin she did not find him there, and though it was but the affair of a moment, it was a cruel moment for her. The rooms occupied by Madame were found to be even more exposed than those of the young Prince, and he was consequently brought back again. The Queen clasped him in her arms. Almost suffocated with her sobs, she remained for a quarter of an hour in ignorance of the fate of the King, incessantly begging to be allowed to join him. At the end of that time Madame Elizabeth contrived to send her word that nothing had happened, that he was displaying the greatest courage, and that her presence would, under the circumstances, be detrimental. The first room of the suite occupied by Mgr. the Dauphin having been

forced open, and as it was rapidly filling with the crowd that was overrunning the Castle, the Queen, her children, and those around her went into the bedroom of the King, the doors of which were shut on the side of the Council Chamber.

MM. d'Assonville and Dorival, the magistrates, being unable by themselves to repress such excesses, hastened to warn the Assembly of the dangers to which the King was exposed. It had paid so little attention to the accounts that had already reached it that it had suspended its sitting, and M. Fressinel, a deputy, could only collect a dozen of his colleagues, with whom he betook himself to the Castle. They made their way through the mob, and swelled the number of the defenders of his Majesty.

The sitting was resumed at five o'clock, and the Assembly resolved to despatch twenty-four deputies to report to it what was going on in the Castle, and ordered that they should be relieved every half-hour.

On their arrival they, as well as an officer of the Municipality, wished to address the people, but they were not listened to. The sovereign people only recognised its own leaders. Vergniaud, Bigot, Hérault, and the vehement Isnard were no more fortunate. In vain they envoked the Constitution which was being dishonoured; they were thrust aside, and were witnesses of the outrages and vociferations hurled against his Majesty.

The King, who was still requested to observe

the Constitution in the interests of the happiness of the people, stated that it had always been the first object of his care; that he had faithfully observed the Constitution, and that he would uphold it with all his might. Shouts of, "Long live the King!" were heard, but they were silenced by others of, "No—not Long live the King! but Long live the Nation!" others added, "He gives us promises; he has deceived us for a long time; we want the sanction of the decree about the priests, the camp of twenty thousand men, the dismissal of the present Ministers, and the recall of MM. Servan and Roland." One young man, among others, addressing his Majesty, made the most absurd requests to him for the space of three-quarters of an hour. "This is neither the moment to make nor to grant such requests," said the King calmly; "address yourself to the magistrates, the mouthpieces of the law; they will answer you." The deputies once more attempted to gain a hearing, but in vain. Santerre, the friend and leader of these miscreants, had more power; "I will answer," he said, "for the royal family; leave that to me." A momentary lull was interrupted by shouts of "Long live Péthion! Long live good Péthion!" It was six o'clock, and the King had been for three hours in the midst of these criminals. The *good* Péthion approached the King, and was not ashamed to address the following words to him:—"The people came with dignity, and so will retire. Your Majesty

need have no uneasiness." Santerre made the petitioners draw near, but as they all spoke at once, not a word was heard.

Péthion left the Castle to report to the Assembly what was going on. He arrived there with a radiant face, which bore the impress of wickedness. He eulogised the good people, justified the Municipality, and stated that he had done his duty that day, and that everything had gone off in perfect order. The person of the King, he said, had been respected; the only object of the meeting was to present a petition to the King, and no public force could have prevented such a multitude from the commission of crime, had they been so disposed. He concluded his speech by inviting any Members of the Assembly who knew of a plot, to reveal it to the magistrates of the people, who would do their duty.

A deputy named Boulanger offered to produce proofs. He was not listened to, and Péthion, assured that anybody wanting to give evidence would be silenced, left the Assembly, amid shouts and applause from the tribunes, which overpowered the groans with which some members of the Assembly greeted this *magistrate of the people*, who, with equal cowardice and impudence, justified the violation of the duties imposed upon him by the dignity of his office.

The Queen was still in the King's bedroom, when a footman of Mgr. the Dauphin rushed in a state of alarm to warn her Majesty that the hall

was taken, the guard disarmed, the doors of the rooms broken open and smashed, and that he was pursued. It was resolved that the Queen should go into the Council Chamber, through which Santerre was leading his men in order to make them leave the Castle. She presented herself to these rebels in the midst of her children, with the same courage and loftiness of soul that she had displayed on the 5th and 6th of October, and that she ever opposed to their insults and violence.

Her Majesty sat down behind a table, having Mgr. the Dauphin on her right and Madame on her left, surrounded by the Filles Saint Thomas battalion, who constantly opposed an impenetrable wall to the bellowing crowd, which abused it without ceasing. Several deputies also ranged themselves around her. Santerre made the grenadiers who hid the Queen stand aside, in order to allow him to address these words to her :—"You are led astray, you are mistaken, madam ; the people love you and the King better than you think ; fear nothing." "I am neither led astray nor mistaken," replied the Queen, with that dignity which was so often admired in her; "and I know" (pointing to the grenadiers around her), "that I have nothing to fear in the midst of the National Guard."

Santerre continued to make his men march past, pointing out the Queen to them. A woman presented her with a woollen cap ; her Majesty accepted it, but without putting it on her august head. It

was placed on the head of Mgr. the Dauphin, and Santerre, seeing that it was suffocating him, made him take it off and hold it in his hand.

Armed women spoke to the Queen, and presented the *sans-culottes* to her; others threatened her, but her countenance never lost for a single moment its calmness and dignity. There were incessant shouts of "Long live the nation, the *sans-culottes*, and liberty! Down with the veto!" The crowd at last dispersed at the friendly but occasionally somewhat brusque entreaties of Santerre, and the march past only finished at eight o'clock in the evening.

Madame Elizabeth, after leaving the King, came to join the Queen, and give her news of him. His Majesty shortly afterwards returned to his room, and the Queen, informed of this, at once joined him with her children. Worn out with fatigue, he had thrown himself in an arm-chair, and was in the most affectionate manner thanking those around him for the attachment they had displayed. The Queen, in tears, threw herself at his feet with her children; he held them all for some time in a close embrace, and this touching scene affected all those who witnessed the happiness they felt at meeting each other once more safe and sound. The King and Queen embraced Madame Elizabeth, showing her the tenderest gratitude for all she had done for them during this horrible day.

The King, surrounded by a deputation of the Assembly and those people who had never left

him, introduced them to the Queen, and spoke to each one with characteristic kindness. The Assembly had despatched three deputations in succession, the last of which did not leave the Castle until 3 A.M. Péthion, who had left much earlier, said to the people before going,—"My brothers and friends, you have just proved that you are a free and prudent people; withdraw now, and I am going to set you the example myself."

The King was never more noble than on this day; his face never for a moment displayed any emotion; he was ever calm and intrepid; and he rose superior to every effort made to induce him to degrade his crown. His heroic courage amid so many miscreants, his presence of mind, his patient endurance of the insults heaped upon him, the serenity of his soul, the constancy of his refusals, and his firm resignation saved France, *for this day*, from the crime which we never cease to deplore.

It is sad to think that, possessing so much personal courage, his Majesty did not display similar firmness during the various epochs of the Revolution; but his love for his people made him regard a civil war as the greatest scourge that could happen; and the fear of involving France in this caused him to miss more than one favourable opportunity for emerging from the cruel position to which his excessive kindness had brought him.

Before the departure of the deputies the Queen took them to see the havoc wrought in the rooms

of Mgr. the Dauphin. Three of the doors had been smashed; the locks and bolts had been taken away, and the panels forced in; similar havoc was visible in the rooms of Madame, through which those of Mgr. the Dauphin had been entered. Those of the King were in the same plight; the brigands had dispersed throughout the Castle, getting on to the roof, and leaving everywhere marks of their fury. The rooms of the Queen were the only ones left untouched. As the deputies could only make a verbal report to the Assembly of this disturbance, and could not put it in writing, the Magistrate was sent for to draw up a succinct report, which was verified on the following day, the 22d of June, by his officers.

The Municipal officers came to examine the havoc; one of them, and also the Mayor himself, were insulted by the National Guard in the court-yard of the Castle. They felt the disgrace that was reflected on them. Uneasy as to the manner in which their conduct would be judged by the Departments, they plainly showed their resentment against those whom they accused of being the authors of this horrible day, promising that in future they would take good care to oppose any fresh attempts by the rebels. But such care had been taken to disorganise the National Guard that, with the exception of a few battalions noted for their fidelity, no reliance could be placed on it.

The King wrote to the Assembly on the subject

of the events of the previous day, and issued a proclamation which was perfect in every way. It bears such clear evidence of his goodness and his generosity in forgetting the insults paid to him personally, to which he only pays attention in his capacity as hereditary representative of the nation, that I cannot forbear from quoting it :—

. . . . . .

PROCLAMATION of the King in regard to the events of the 20th and 21st of June, in the fourth year of Liberty.

"The French nation will have learnt, not without sorrow, that an armed crowd, led astray by a few rebels, effected an entrance into the residence of the King, dragging a gun into the guard-room ; that it burst open the doors with axes, and that, abusing the name of the nation in an odious manner, it attempted to obtain by violence the sanction to two decrees which was constitutionally refused by the King.

To threats and insults he only opposed his conscience and his love for the public weal, and he is ignorant of the extent to which the rebels wish to proceed ; but it is necessary that he should tell the French nation that violence, to whatever excess it may be carried, will never extort from him consent to anything which he believes to be contrary to the public welfare, for which he will without regret endanger his peace and safety. He would even sacrifice, without a murmur, the enjoyment of those rights which belong to every man, and which the law ought to cause to be respected in regard to him as well as to all citizens, even if, as the hereditary representative of the nation, he had not duties to fulfil ; and though he should be called upon to make a sacrifice of his tranquillity, he will never sacrifice his duty.

If those who wish to overthrow the Monarchy have need of one more crime, they have the opportunity, in the present crisis,

of committing it; but the King will ever, even to his latest moment, give all constituted authorities an example of that courage and firmness which alone can save the Empire, and he therefore orders all Municipalities and Administrative bodies to watch over the safety of persons and property.

"Given at Paris, the 22d of June 1792, in the 4th year of Liberty.

LOUIS.

TERRIER."

Before receiving the letter of the King, the Assembly passed a decree against armed assemblies, and it was sanctioned without delay; and on the rumour that another crowd was to meet around the Castle, it sent a deputation to ask his Majesty if he was at all afraid of his tranquillity being disturbed, because in that case it would at once go to him. The King received the deputation in the midst of his family, and replied, "I am told that at this moment Paris is quiet. If it should cease to be so, I will have the Assembly informed. Tell it, gentlemen, how fully I appreciate the interest it displays towards me, and assure it that, if it is in the slightest danger, I will betake myself to it."

This proceeding did not deter Couthon and other rebels from proposing to the Assembly to disregard the royal veto in the case of special decrees, or from accompanying this proposition with their wonted invectives against the conduct and person of his Majesty. If this motion had been adopted, the Assembly would have at once become Constituent; it did not deem it prudent at that time to risk such

a step; on the contrary, in conformity with the denunciation of M. Terrier de Monciel, it turned its attention to the seditious placards which were posted up throughout Paris; and it passed a decree to direct the constituted authorities to maintain order and tranquillity, and to guarantee the safety of persons and property; and it ordered the Minister of the Interior to render each day an exact account of what was going on in Paris.

Péthion, having been informed that the Castle was believed to be threatened, arrived there at 7 P.M. The National Guard heaped bloodthirsty reproaches on him, and treated him with the most profound contempt. He went to the King, announcing himself as the Mayor of Paris. The King received him in the midst of his family, surrounded by his and their suites. "Sire," said Péthion, "we have been informed that you have been warned of a meeting having designs against your residence; we are come to inform you that this meeting is composed only of unarmed citizens who wish to set up a May-pole. I know, sire, that the Municipality has been calumniated, and that its conduct is known to your Majesty." "It ought to be known to France," replied the King. "*I accuse nobody; I have seen everything.*" "If it had not been for the measures of precaution taken by the Municipality," said Péthion, "far more disastrous results might have ensued, but not against your person." (Here he looked pointedly at the Queen, who was by the side of the King.) "You should

know, sire, that your person will always be respected." The King looked at him with the utmost indignation, and rejoined, "*Do you call an armed entrance into my residence, and the destruction of my doors, respecting me? What has taken place, sir, is a subject of scandal in the eyes of the whole world. You are responsible for the tranquillity of Paris.*" "I know the extent of my duties, and I will fulfil them," said Péthion, still insolently looking at the Queen. "*This is too much,*" said the King, in a threatening tone. "*Hold your tongue, and retire.*" Péthion withdrew, with anger on his countenance, promising himself an ample revenge for the affront he had received.

The majority of the Parisians were stupefied by the events they had witnessed; but, paralysed by terror, they contented themselves with being miserable within their own doors, which they shut on the slightest appearance of danger. A noteworthy youth, named Cayer, at the head of a somewhat considerable number of persons, had nevertheless the courage to denounce to the Commune the Mayor, the Procureur of the Commune, and the authorities who had failed in their duties on the 20th of June, demanding punishment for the outrages under which all France was groaning. "Yes," he said, "I denounce a Battalion Commandant who has violated the law in daring to traverse the streets and squares of the capital at the head of twenty thousand armed men; the National Guard who were among them, and made

use of guns given them for quite another purpose; the brigands who turned their weapons against their King, and uttered in presence of him and the royal family the most murderous threats; the citizens of all ages and both sexes who marched after them, and similarly heaped the greatest insults on the King and the royal family for several hours; the Procureur of the Commune, who neglected to demand the necessary force for the dispersal of the assembly; and you, Mayor of Paris, for having, in contempt of the law, neglected to make use of the means given you by your position and the law for averting a danger of which you had been warned, and for assuring the liberty of the King and the Assembly in the maintenance of public order." He also denounced the cowardly and perfidious conduct of the Municipal officers, and that of the Commandant-General, who was required by every civil and military law to repulse by force the attack on a post which had been confided to him. He concluded by demanding that the Council-General of the Commune should condemn the conduct of the Mayor, the Procureur-General of the Commune, and the Administrators of Police, subsequent to the order of the 16th of June; that it should disapprove this order and denounce it to the Directorate of the Department; that it should hold the above-named persons responsible for the 20th of June; and that the order now requested should be printed and despatched to the forty-eight sections, the eighty-

three Departments, the Directorate of that of Paris, the Assembly, and the Minister of Interior.

A large number of the Departments sent addresses to express their indignation at the violation of the Constitution on this frightful day. That of the Department of the Somme, more energetic than the rest, was referred to the Committee of Twelve. All the rebel petitions were, on the contrary, received by the Assembly, who accorded the honours of the sitting to those who presented them. But as the addresses expressive of discontent were more numerous than the others, the Assembly, fearing the effect they might produce, would not receive any more, but referred them all to the Committee of Twelve.

Dupont de Nemours and Guillaume, ex-Constituents, had the courage to present a petition, signed by twenty thousand persons, demanding punishment for the outrages of the 20th of June. This petition, under the Reign of Terror, caused the persecution of those who were accused, or even suspected, of having signed it.

The veto of the King in regard to the banishment of the priests did not prevent several Departments from carrying that measure out, and allowing the imprisonment of unsworn ecclesiastics, even though no judgment had been pronounced against them. The most atrocious crimes were secure of impunity, so long as they were directed against the religious orders, or persons suspected of attachment to the King and the royal family; these always

found defenders in the Assembly. The reception accorded to the deputation from the Faubourg Saint Antoine, which appeared to justify the outrages of the 20th of June, was a proof of this.

Twenty deputies of this Faubourg presented a petition to defend itself from the calumnies circulated in regard to its conduct. They had only taken weapons, they said, to show the King the millions of arms that were ready to defend an Assembly which was only calumniated in order to discover some pretext for dissolving it. The Assembly was not ashamed to receive such a petition.

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ode, and, at the same time, his hope that the
ht be done to him. All Malesherbes said was,
now that I have not had the happiness of saving
my master." This same Boze remained for nine
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which his wife used daily to pay for his preservation
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20th of June. He declared that he had received addresses on this subject from various regiments of the army, which he had stopped out of respect for the Constitution, preferring to appear alone to give expression to the universal feeling.

He pointed out that it was more than time to put a stop to the attacks made day by day against the Constitution; to secure the liberty of the Assembly and of the King; to respect his independence and his dignity; and to undeceive those bad citizens who were only looking to foreign aid for the re-establishment of a public liberty which to free men would become a shameful and dangerous bondage. He begged the Assembly to punish, as traitors to the nation, the authors of the 20th of June, and to destroy a sect which attacked royalty and tyrannised over the citizens, and whose initiatory proceedings left no doubt about the atrocity of the plans of those who were their leaders. In concluding his speech he represented that it was the duty of the Assembly to uphold the Constitution while so many brave men were dying in its defence, and he stated that in concert with Marshal Luckner he had taken the necessary steps to prevent the army from suffering by reason of his absence.

Gaudet opposed the honours of the sitting being awarded to M. de la Fayette, and reproached him with having calumniated the nation, and with having himself violated the Constitution by his arrival in Paris. He demanded that the Minister of War

should be sent for on the spot, so that it might be ascertained if he had given M. de la Fayette leave; that the Committee should be charged to ascertain if a General on active service could present petitions; and that its report should be presented on the following day. Ramond and several other deputies defended M. de la Fayette, and the Assembly passed to the order of the day.

M. de la Fayette presented himself to the King as the defender of the royal authority, having no other object than to send away the Jacobins, and, to attain that end, to make use of the ascendancy he thought he retained over the National Guard. Everybody attached to the King was asked to show him every attention; and as his expedition was to take place that evening, much vigilance was exercised inside the Castle, and all those within it were enjoined either not to leave or to be in by eight o'clock in the evening. M. de la Fayette had a sad experience of the scant credit he retained; he could only get a dozen of the National Guard together, and in a few hours he saw the destruction of the hopes he had raised in regard to the success of his proceeding.

On leaving for the army he again wrote to the Assembly to remind it once more of the danger of not opposing a power which, by raising itself above all constituted authorities, would end by subjugating them; adding that it might justly be reproached with the existing disasters, seeing that they had been occa-

sioned by the insubordination it had not ceased to arouse among the soldiers against their leaders. His letter was no more successful than his journey, and he received more than one proof that evil easily wrought is with difficulty repaired, and that there are mistakes which unforeseen circumstances render irreparable.

The declarations of the deputies renowned for their violence were renewed at each sitting. They taxed the King with treason, and accused him of all the evil wrought by their orders and their want of foresight. They pushed their audacity to the extent of demanding his deposition. Vergniaud pretended that he was responsible for the mistakes made by the armies; reproached him with witnessing their triumphs with displeasure, and with sheltering himself under the cloak of inviolability, in order to destroy liberty and to withhold his sanction to the decrees of the Assembly, however useful and necessary they might be. The Chamber took into consideration the question of the recall of M. de Luckner, being unable to pardon his adhesion to the sentiments of M. de la Fayette. Everything presaged a crisis, in which it was easy to foresee the danger incurred by the King, the royal family, and even the Monarchy.

The honours of the sitting were accorded to the citizens of Paris who came to denounce M. de la Fayette, as well as to those who demanded the dismissal of the Staff of the National Guard, and the suppression of the royal veto.

M. Pastoret, charged by the Committee of Twelve with the report on the tranquillity of the kingdom, fearing to draw upon himself the hatred of the Jacobins, whose fury he dreaded, made a very insignificant speech, in which he took it upon himself to blame the inertness of the executive power, to censure the unsworn priests, and to indulge, when speaking of public education, in such grandiloquent words as "the police of nature and the moral health of the people." His speech was mildly described as a dose of opium for the excruciated.

The sittings became more and more stormy. Jean de Brie proposed to declare the country in danger; to place on a permanent footing all the administrative bodies and arrangements of the kingdom; to compel everybody to deliver up all arms in his possession at the Directorate of his Department, for distribution at head-quarters; and to order all citizens chosen to fight against the enemy to hold themselves in readiness to start at a moment's notice.

De Launay d'Angers protested against servile respect being paid to an executive power which could employ its money and its means to the detriment of the nation, proposing, moreover, no longer to consult the Act of the Constitution, but to look upon the public welfare as the supreme law. He thundered against M. de la Fayette, and expressed his astonishment at not seeing him in the prison of Orleans. He demanded that it should be graven

on the sanctuary of the laws that the representatives of the people would only recognise the imperious supreme law of the safety of the State against conspirators and disturbers of the public peace.

The coalition of the King of Prussia and the other Powers, and the approach of the foreign armies, increased the rage of the rebels. Rouger, Couthon, etc., demanded at the top of their voices the disbandment of the Staff of the National Guard. The opposition of the deputies of the Right was not listened to, and the whole of the Staff in all the towns of fifty thousand inhabitants was suppressed by one decree.

Vergniaud accused the King of all that was going on at Coblentz, and called up a vision of the shades of the Medicis, the Cardinal de Lorraine, La Chaise, and Le Tellier hovering over the Tuileries, and inspiring a dread of a renewal of Saint Bartholomew and the dragonnades. He concluded by proposing to declare the country in danger; to render Ministers responsible for the entry of foreign troops into France, and the troubles existing in the kingdom; to issue an address to the French people to draw them to the defence of the country; and to charge the Committee to make a speedy report on the conduct of M. de la Fayette. Jean de Brie, moreover, demanded that the declaration of the country being in danger should be made after the most mournful fashion, calculated to rouse the French to fly to the succour of their country.

Jacobin addresses were instigated from all quarters, demanding that the Assembly should suspend the veto and promptly adopt the weighty measures for the public safety which had been proposed to it. On the other hand, all those which were contrary to its views were suppressed, and no stone was left unturned to rouse the people and incite them to revolt.

Torné, a Constitutional bishop, made a speech after the style of Vergniaud. He ridiculed the idea of M. de la Fayette, whom he proposed to call La Fayette the Jacobin, as Scipio was called Africanus; and he demanded the establishment of a dictatorship, and the proclamation of the danger of the country.

The Assembly having declared that it would go in a body to the Federation of the 14th of July, the King thought he ought also to be present. He wrote to say that he would join it on that day to renew his own oath, and to receive that of the inhabitants of the Provinces who were in Paris, as well as that of the Federates passing through the city on their way to the army. The Assembly did not condescend to reply to this letter, but sent it to the Committee of Twelve for report.

The Directorate, in accordance with the evidence taken in regard to the 20th of June, determined to issue an order suspending Péthion and Manuel; sending them for trial to be judged as to the conduct they had pursued; ordering the Procureur-Syndic

to denounce Santerre, the lieutenant of the Val de Grace artillery, and the Municipal officers who were accused of having marched various portions of the public force without requisition; of having on that day admitted foreigners into the National Guard; of having changed or removed at will the sentries at the Tuileries; and of having directed the attack on the residence of the King.

This order was read at an extraordinary meeting of the General Council of the Commune, and M. Borie was directed to assume *ad interim* the duties of Mayor, until a decision should be arrived at in regard to Péthion. He was also directed to inform the Corps Legislatif of these arrangements, and to beg it to decide without delay as to the suspensions ordered.

As soon as Péthion had heard the order read he left, and Danton exclaimed, "Let all good citizens and Municipal Officers follow the Mayor of the National Assembly." Several members followed him but the majority remained and continued their deliberations. The friends of Péthion roused the people against this order, by representing to them that his conduct on the 20th of June, which was the basis of this accusation, had for its sole object to prevent any shedding of the blood of the people, which there was a design to shed on that day.

Two days afterwards, just as Brissot was going to read a speech on the measures demanded by existing circumstances for the public safety, Lamour-

ette, the Constitutional Bishop of Lyons, proposed a sure method to disconcert the enemies of France. "Let us adopt an oath," he said, "to devote to execration all who would establish the Republic and the Chambers; let us swear to observe the Constitution only, and to have but one mind and one opinion. Let all those who agree with my proposal rise." The whole Assembly rose as one man, and the members of both sides mingled and embraced each other. The excitement carried away the spectators, and it was ordered that a deputation of twenty-four members should convey a report of the sitting to the King; that the administrative bodies should be sent for to be informed also of what had taken place; and that the King should be requested to send a notification of it to the eighty-three Departments.

His Majesty, surrounded by the royal family, received the deputation in his room, and expressed his satisfaction at so necessary an agreement; and on their departure he at once betook himself to the Assembly with his Ministers, placed himself by the side of the President, and made the following little speech:—"Gentlemen, the most touching act in my mind is the union of every will for the safety of the country. I have long wished for this moment; my wish is fulfilled, and I am come in person to assure you that the King and the nation are one, and that if they proceed towards the same end, their united efforts will save France. Attachment to the

Constitution will unite all Frenchmen, and their King will always set them an example."

The President replied that the memorable epoch that had brought the King into their midst would be a signal of rejoicing for the friends of liberty, and of terror to its enemies; that this harmony among the constituted powers would give France strength to disperse the league of tyrants against her independence; and that she already saw in the loyalty of the proceeding of the King a sign of the defeat of her enemies. Shouts of "Long live the King!" were heard on all sides, and he left amid the applause of the Assembly and the galleries.

This proceeding did not hinder the continuance of the usual manœuvres to depreciate the King and excite the fury of the people, which were necessary to secure his deposition and the subsequent establishment of a government suited to the rebels. For my part I never understood the object of these repeated contradictions. A proof of them was given the same day, when the Assembly listened to the reading of a motion of the Commune requesting a prompt decision on the suspension of Péthion and Manuel. This motion was not limited to excusing their conduct, but dared, moreover, to state that it had saved France by sparing the blood of the people, who would have taken terrible vengeance on the perverse beings who wanted to light the firebrands of civil war. Instead of meting out to this motion the censure it deserved, the Assembly ordered it to be

printed, directing also that his Majesty should state on the following day his decision as to the suspension in question.

Tellier, spokesman of the Gravilliers section, made the same request, and also made a speech after the manner of that from Osselin in the name of the Commune.

The King, feeling the embarrassment of his position, refused to give his opinion on a subject in which he was personally interested, and begged the Assembly to decide the question. The latter considered this proceeding of the King unconstitutional, and, without respect to the royal Majesty, replied to it merely by the order of the day. The King was compelled to give a decision confirming the suspension pronounced by the Department.

Péthion went at once to the Assembly to justify his conduct, complaining of the Department, which ought to have done more justice to conduct which had prevented great misfortunes; he reproached it with impudently caluminating the good people, who could only be accused of somewhat excessive excitement; he stated that only slight damage had been done in the Castle, occasioned by a crowd which had been borne in upon by the large number of persons who thronged the apartments; that there had been no assassination; and that it would be very dangerous to depose the patriotic Mayors at the bidding of the Court, which influenced all the Directorates of the Department.

Such a justification was an additional insult to the royal Majesty. However, it was applauded by the rebels in the Assembly, which ordered that the report on this matter should be made at noon on the following day, and that it would not leave until it was finished. The galleries applauded with shouts of "Long live Péthion! The victorious Péthion! Our friend Péthion!"

Platforms were erected in various parts of Paris, from which orators harangued the people, urging them to demand the restitution of Péthion. Artisans, *sans-culottes*, and bandits traversed the streets with "Péthion or death!" written on their hats, and shouting these words so loudly that they were distinctly heard at the Tuileries; for nothing was forgotten which could incite the people and rouse it against the King and the royal family. In spite of the representations of MM. Boulanger, Delmas, Daverhoust, and several other deputies on the dishonour which a justification of the 20th of June would bring upon the Assembly, the Mayor was relieved from his suspension, and a similar result was expected in the case of Manuel, who was ill, whenever he should be in a state to present his justification in person. With inconsistency worthy of the faction which then governed France, the Tribunals were simultaneously charged by its order to proceed against the authors of that day.

As soon as Manuel had recovered, he went to the Assembly, justified his conduct as Péthion had done,

adding the most insolent diatribes, which he concluded with these words:—"Are you afraid of measuring yourself with a man whom it is your duty to judge?" As may well be imagined, such a piece of audacity procured his restoration to his post.

The fury of the Assembly augmented in proportion with the dangers it incurred through the defection of the allies of France. The Minister of Foreign Affairs having announced that it was impossible to conceal the adverse feeling of the King of Sardinia, or the arrival of six thousand Austrians on the frontiers of Savoy, there was a great uproar in the Assembly, and M. de Kersaint exclaimed, "How long will you play the shameful part of quietly witnessing the treason of the executive power, over whom you are pre-eminent, without doing justice to it? I demand that my denunciation shall be referred to the Committee of Twelve, so that it may decide if the Assembly has not the right to pronounce his deposition, for having failed in his duty to preserve the nation from its enemies."

Brissot in his turn made the most inflammatory speech he had ever uttered. He declared that France, unable any longer to rely upon any ally, ought to suffice for herself, and to regard the King as her most dangerous enemy. "To strike the court of the Tuileries," he added, "is to strike every traitor at one blow. Put the King on his trial; decree the indictment of the Ministers of War, the Interior, and

Foreign Affairs; make them responsible for the measures taken to replace the veto; lodge an information against the Austrian Committee; create a secret commission, composed of intrepid patriots, entrusted with the framing of all accusations of high treason; hurry on the execution of the sentences of the High Court; punish the petitioning General; sell the property of the *emigrés*, so as to deprive them of all hope of an amnesty; maintain the popular societies; be the people and eternally the people; make no distinction between landed proprietors and those who are not; examine the expenditure of the civil list; let the Assembly be the Committee of the King, the King the man of the 14th of July, the people his confidant, and let the men with the pikes be mingled with the National Guard."

The care which Ministers took to keep the King from deviating from the principles he had been compelled to adopt at the time of the establishment of the Constitution, did not prevent him, as we have seen, from being exposed to the insults of the Assembly. The letter they induced the King to write to the French armies to beg them to fight courageously against the enemies of the country, of which he declared his intention to be the support, as well as his resolution, which he notified to foreign Powers, to faithfully comply with the Constitution in the exercise of his authority, made no impression on the Assembly; it continued its persecutions in such a way that the Ministers, after having reported to the

King the state of the army, the kingdom, and his position in regard to foreign Powers, declared to him, by the mouth of M. Joly, Minister of Justice, that as they found it out of their power to do any good, they all tendered their resignations.

The King had considerable trouble in finding anybody to take office. In the end, however, he appointed M. d'Abancourt, Minister of War; M. Champion, of Justice; M. Bigot de Sainte-Croix, of Interior, and, provisionally, of Foreign Affairs; and M. de Beaulieu, of Public Taxes.

In accordance with the report of the Committee of Twelve, the Assembly, on the 9th of July, declared the country in danger, and issued a proclamation to the French people, begging them to take up arms in defence of their country, threatened by a foreign invasion. It issued another to the armies, in which it insisted on the necessity of subordination for the maintenance of the honour of the French armies, adding that valour alone would not enable them to triumph over disciplined troops; and that it was necessary to demonstrate what could be done by the love of liberty in the hearts of Frenchmen, resolved to a man to die rather than see it or the integrity of their country attacked.

In the Jacobin Clubs atrocious attacks were manufactured against the King, in which his deposition and the establishment of a Republic were demanded. One of this kind was presented by the so-called Mayor of Marseilles in the name of the

Commune of that town; but it was disavowed at once by M. Martin, the ex-Mayor, who declared in the name of the inhabitants that it was the work of the rebels, who held all good citizens in a state of oppression. These latter requested the Assembly to proceed with rigour against this abominable address, but no attention was paid to the request.

The moment of the Federation approached, and it was feared that advantage might be taken of the opportunity to bring about the movement that the rebels were working to organise. Fortunately, the National Guard was not disposed to join them, and this compelled them to defer once more the execution of their plans. A large number of the National Guard from the Provinces, to whom were attached the recruits on their way to defend the frontiers, arrived in Paris to take part in the Federation. The majority of the recruits shared the sentiments of the rebels, but the others, indignant at what they saw and at the methods adopted to corrupt their fidelity, made a point of requesting that they should leave Paris and go to join the army.

On the 14th of July, the day of the Federation, the King left the Tuileries at noon to go to the Champ de Mars, having with him in his carriage the Queen, their two children, Madame Elizabeth, the Princess de Lamballe, and myself. His Ministers were on foot beside the carriage, in front of which were three officers on duty with his

Majesty, four equerries, and ten pages. In the carriage preceding that of his Majesty were MM. de Saint-Priest, de Fleurieu, de Poix, de Tourzel, de Briges, de Montmorin, the Governor of Fontainebleau, de Champcenetz, and de Nantouillet. In that immediately following his Majesty were Madame d'Ossun, Lady of the Bedchamber to the Queen; Mesdames de Tarente, de Maillé, and de la Roche-Aymon, Ladies of the Palace; and Madame de Serène, Lady of Honour to Madame Elizabeth. The escort of the King was composed of the Suisses, the Grenadiers of the National Guard, and a detachment of from one hundred and fifty to two hundred well-disposed men of the same Guard. Their appearance restrained the rebels, and the return journey in the same order passed off with similar tranquillity. Their Majesties several times expressed to this escort their appreciation of the attachment displayed by them, and the brave fellows, who were deeply moved by these expressions, bore on their countenances the impress of the grief they felt by reason of all they heard and saw. A column of Grenadiers marched on either side of the *cortège*, under the command of MM. de Wittengoff, de Menou, and de Boissieu.

Never was there such a gloomy ceremony: the triumph of Péthion was complete. The people never ceased to shout, "Long live the *sans-culottes* and the Nation! Down with the Veto! Long live Péthion, the virtuous Péthion!" His name was

inscribed on their hats and on the banners of the popular societies. In the Champ de Mars there was a crowd of soldiers from the Provinces; ragged women and children holding branches of trees; and men carrying pikes, swords, emblems of liberty in cardboard, and placards, on which were the maxims of liberty, on the top of sticks painted in the three colours. This crowd was preceded by the military and civil *corps*, the National Guard from the Departments, the Municipality, and the National Assembly. When they reached the Champ de Mars all the various bodies took the places assigned to them, and a band played.

The portion of the column of the Federates, women, children, and men with pikes, mentioned above, marched to the Champ de Mars under the balcony where the King and his family were, shouting incessantly, "Long live Péthion, the Nation, and the National Assembly!" and waving the abominable placards they carried on their sticks, holding them up so that they could be seen by the King and the royal family.

When the moment arrived to take the oath, the King left his family and placed himself at the head of the Assembly, between the President and one of its other members. The rest followed five abreast, between one column of Grenadiers and another of the Line, and preceded by a few men on horseback to clear the way.

The oath was taken by the Assembly, and then

by the King and the people. At the moment when the King was ascending the altar, thirty or forty so-called conquerors of the Bastille, carrying a model of it, succeeded in getting rather near the King; and with the object of creating a disturbance, they proposed to add to the ordinary oath another *to live free or die.* Then, addressing some members of the Assembly, they told them that they had done well in giving them back their Péthion, and that if they had not done so they would have repented it, for they themselves would have brought him to the altar, and would have had him reinstated by the people.

The Queen, who never lost sight of the King, and watched all his movements through a telescope, had a moment's anxiety when she saw them so near him; but she was speedily reassured by the air of calmness which never left his Majesty, in spite of the painful nature of the ceremony, so far as he was concerned. After the oath he was re-conducted to the École Militaire, and returned to the Tuileries in the same order that he had left it, arriving there at seven o'clock in the evening.

There were a few shouts of "Long live the King!" but very many, *en route* as well as in the Champ de Mars, of "Long live Péthion! Down with la Fayette! Down with the veto! To the lamp-post with the aristocrats!"

The old Constitutionals, alarmed by the revolutionary doctrines and the dangers incurred by the

King and his family, were seriously occupied in considering the means of getting him to leave Paris, in order that he might take up his abode in some safe town, and there reform the principal abuses of the Constitution. M. de Liancourt answered for the fidelity of his regiment, which was in garrison at Rouen, and offered to escort the King to that town. He then put himself in communication with M. de la Fayette, to represent to him that he had not a moment to lose in assuring himself of his army, extricating the King from his captivity, and preserving for France the Constitution to which he attached such value. M. de Lally-Tollendal made several journeys with this object, and strongly urged the King to profit by the goodwill of M. de la Fayette.

His Majesty feared to put himself in the hands of the Constitutionals, to whom he with justice attributed the sad and dangerous position in which he was placed. He could not place any confidence in M. de la Fayette, who was always blinded by his attachment to a Constitution which he regarded as his work, nor could he make up his mind to accept the proposals made to him. He was, however, shaken for a moment; but having obtained information as to the assistance he might expect from the inhabitants of Rouen and the Department which was not satisfactory, he could not bear the thought of a second arrest or a flight into a foreign country, and he gave up all idea of departing. He hoped, moreover, by remaining in Paris, to have in his

favour the chance of France needing him in regard to foreign Powers, and the possibility of their being able to establish a prudent Government and one calculated to secure her welfare.

In order to do away with every obstacle in the way of the execution of its plans, the Assembly passed a decree to despatch to the army the regiments which were in Paris, and which it suspected of preserving some attachment to his Majesty. It would have gladly done the same with the Suisses, and have deprived them of the guardianship of the King which they shared with the National Guard; but the fear of seeing Switzerland ally herself with the enemies of the King made them postpone this measure. It contented itself, for the moment, with removing ten of their battalions to a distance of fifteen leagues from Paris.

Each check experienced by the armies redoubled the fury of the rebels in the Assembly. The insults to his Majesty were renewed at every sitting, and it was no longer afraid of entering upon the question whether the right of veto should not be taken away from him, and whether his conduct did not render him liable to deposition.

M. de la Fayette had also been the object of their rage ever since his trip to Paris. They accused him of betraying his country, and proposed to put him on his trial. The debate on this subject was very stormy, and was the occasion of fresh insults to the royal Majesty.

Torné, a Constitutional bishop, after having eulogised the 20th of June, inveighed against the King in the most violent manner, and represented his Majesty as the subject of the sovereign people, who had every right over his person: and in order to excuse the violence of his speech, he calmly confessed that he had made his ordinary moderation and his pastoral charity give way to the interest of the nation. Dumolard courageously defended M. de la Fayette, who was accused by Guadet, Gensonné, and La Source of having made Marshal Luckner promise to march with him against Paris. They pretended that they had this from the Marshal himself, and they signed the denunciation. The Assembly adjourned the consideration of this matter until the receipt of a reply to a letter which it caused to be addressed to the Marshal himself on this subject.

The Federates had been so worked upon that a large number of them presented a petition to the Assembly to demand the provisional suspension of the King, in order to put him on his trial and pronounce his deposition. They, moreover, demanded the convocation of the primary Assemblies for the establishment of a Convention which would make known the wish of the people in respect to the clauses relative to the executive power which were falsely regarded as constitutional. There was a great uproar on the subject of this petition. Vergniaud having represented that there was a decree ordering all petitions presented

to the Assembly to be referred to the Committees, it passed to the order of the day, according, however, to the petitioners the honours of the sitting.

All petitions of this kind, which were frequently renewed, were received by the Assembly, which no longer saw any obstacles in the way of the execution of its plans. There was one, among others, from the Patriotic Society of Puy en Velay, which was remarkable for the excess of its atrocity. It was signed by two thousand persons, who threatened the King with thousands of imitators of Brutus and Scævola if he continued to oppose the happiness of twenty-five million men, who would end by avenging the bondage of their fathers, and by dividing the territories of crowned brigands. Such a petition, which did not even incur the censure of the Assembly, could leave no room for doubt as to the nature of its intentions.

On the 22d of July, the day fixed in Paris for making the solemn declaration of the country in danger, the General Council of the Commune assembled at seven A.M., and the six legions of the National Guard fell in with their colours in the Place de Grève. The Artillery park of the Pont Neuf, ordered to fire the morning gun, fired three rounds, which were answered by that of the Arsenal, and a similar discharge took place each hour during the day. At eight o'clock two processions set out from each side to make the declaration in the appointed places. They were preceded by detachments of cavalry, drums, and bands, and followed by six pieces of

ordnance. They were accompanied by four ushers of the Municipality, carrying tri-colour flags, on which were inscribed "Liberty, Equality, Constitution, Country," and over this, "Publicity and Responsibility." Behind these came twelve Municipal officers, wearing their scarfs, and some notables, Members of the Council of the City, all mounted on sorry horses and in indifferent order. The procession was closed by a detachment of the National Guard, carrying a flag on which was inscribed, "Citizens, the country is in danger!" and they were followed by several pieces of ordnance.

The two large banners of each procession were deposited, one at the Hôtel de Ville, and the other at the Artillery Park of the Pont Neuf, where they were to remain until the Assembly should declare that the country was no longer in danger.

This proclamation was read by the Municipal officers in twelve places in the town, where twelve platforms had been erected, each furnished with a small tent to register the enlistment of all who were willing to proceed to the frontiers. The enlistments were not numerous, and this ceremony, which lasted for two days, made little impression on the Parisians. The theatres, the wine-shops, the Champs Elysées, the Bois de Boulogne, and the other places of amusement were as much frequented as usual. The carelessness of the Parisians was at its height. They could not persuade themselves that danger could approach them, and they endeavoured to put

aside all thought of it. The proclamation of the King to induce them to fly to the assistance of the country in danger, and to make them enlist to complete the army on service, had no more effect. The only agitation was among the rebels, who gave no rest to that part of the populace which they could dispose of at their good pleasure, and of which they continued to make use for the consummation of their crimes.

The Assembly neglected nothing to increase the number of the defenders of the country. It voted 500,000 francs for the raising of a *corps* of one thousand five hundred Belgians or Liégeois, who offered to enrol themselves under the banner of liberty. It may well be imagined that this *corps* was composed of all the blackguards of the country, and it was made use of on the occasions when the French refused to dye their hands in the blood of their countrymen. The Assembly likewise decreed the formation of a battalion of Allobroges, to receive all the inhabitants of Savoy who wished to enlist for active service; and it decreed that the age of eighteen, and a height of five feet, were sufficient qualifications for enlistment for the defence of the country.

The Assembly also forbade all Frenchmen to leave France, under pain of being considered *emigrés*, and the authorities were prohibited from giving passports to any but agents of the Government. With the object of disgusting the Ministry,

and rendering the position of Ministers more difficult. It lasted their solitarity until the country should be out of danger.

The Provinces of the South were far from being tranquil. M. du Saillant, unable to bear the persecution carried into effect against persons suspected of being attached to the King, took up arms and seized the castle of Baunes, the garrison of which capitulated and were allowed to march out with their arms and baggage. M. de Montesquiou, who commanded in that part of France, gave orders to M. d'Albignac to put himself at the head of the volunteers of Nimes, Montpellier, Uzès, and Pont Saint Esprit, and march against M. du Saillant. They set fire to the castle of Baunes, put to death without any form of trial the unfortunate men whom they took prisoners, and burnt all that remained of the castle, as well as that of Jalès. These same volunteers dispersed all over the district, and committed every sort of disturbance.

At Bordeaux and Limoges the patriots assassinated with the utmost cruelty several respectable ecclesiastics, who were living in retirement with their relatives or friends, solely because they refused their adhesion to the Civil constitution of the clergy. Everything tending to incite rebellion invariably found an excuse in the Assembly, and was secure of impunity.

There were frequently partial movements in the Faubourg Saint Antoine, which were carefully

fostered, in order to keep the populace in a state of excitement, pending a favourable moment for making use of them.

To prevent any recurrence of the 20th of June, the garden of the Tuileries, which had become the sole promenade of the royal family, who no longer went out for fear of being insulted, was closed without exciting any remark. The Abbé Faucher, who was by no means pleased even with the scant attention paid to the royal family, and was moreover glad to contrive an entrance for the people in case of need, moved that the Feuillants passage should be declared by a formal decree separate from the Tuileries, as forming part of the enclosure of the Assembly, from which it was separated by a wall. He stated that the good people, full of respect for the Assembly, would gladly obey its decrees, and that a simple barrier of tri-coloured riband would suffice to prevent them from entering the space reserved for the executive power. In spite of the opposition of a certain number of the members of the Assembly, who pointed out to it the inconvenience of rendering itself responsible by this measure for the person of the King, it converted the motion of the Abbé Faucher into a decree; and the people had access at will to this part of the garden, whence they insulted the unhappy royal family as they pleased.

The Assemby restrained itself no longer. Day by day it gave itself up to the most scandalous

excesses, eminently calculated to have opened the eyes of the nation if it had not been as blind as it was terrified by the Jacobin faction, which had become a power in our unhappy country. Guadet proposed that the King should be held responsible for everything done in his name throughout Europe, and motions for the suspension of the King, for the convocation of primary Assemblies, and for the deposition of his Majesty, were renewed without cessation.

Brissot pointed out to the Assembly the danger of suspending the King before having proved that he was liable to deposition; that the convocation of the primary Assemblies might become dangerous to the Assembly, and rally round the King persons who would make common cause with the *emigrés*. He proposed that the Committee of Twelve should be charged with ascertaining if the King was liable to deposition, and that it should be directed to submit a draft address to warn the people against unconstitutional and exaggerated measures that might result in the ruin of liberty.

On the 20th of July the Federates spent the night in orgies on the Place de la Bastille; and there being a report current of a very lively quarrel having taken place between various members of the Assembly, the word went round among them that Merlin, Chabot, and the patriots of the Left had been assassinated by the aristocrats; that there was a depôt of eighteen thousand muskets in the Tuileries;

and that guns were being brought to the Faubourgs. On hearing this they became furious, and shouted, "Let us invest the Tuileries and exterminate the traitors." At five A.M. the assembly was sounded, and from four to five thousand of the National Guard proceeded to the Tuileries. Their uncertainty in regard to their being joined by the Federates, and a letter from the King to Péthion requesting him to make an immediate search in order to satisfy himself of the non-existence of the depôt of arms stated to be concealed, prevented for this day any renewal of the scene of the 20th of June. Péthion proceeded to the Faubourg Saint Antoine, and for the time being calmed the excitement that prevailed there.

The excitement around the Tuileries caused much uneasiness to the King and the royal family. They took refuge in the room of his Majesty, who was conferring with the Count de Viomenil and his Ministers on the steps that should be taken in the event of an attack on the Castle. As there were no means of defence, and the King was unwilling to risk witnessing a renewal of the scene of the 20th of June, he made up his mind, if the Castle should be forced, to go through the Salle de la Comédie and the apartments of Mesdames, reach the Assembly by the Feuillants passage, and there demand justice for such attacks. There was no need on that day to proceed to such an extremity, but the step resolved upon had a disastrous influence on that which Roederer took on the 10th of August.

The position of the royal family became worse and worse every day. Shut up in the Tuileries, whence not even Mgr. the Dauphin was allowed to emerge lest he should fall in with a crowd of rebels, they were deprived of fresh air and every kind of distraction. One evening, however, when an excellent body of the National Guard was on duty at the Tuileries, they went to the little garden allotted to Mgr. the Dauphin, whence they returned by the terrace beside the water. Some Federates who were passing along the quay having perceived the Queen, began to utter very disrespectful remarks, and to sing a detestable song, looking at her pointedly without taking off their hats. Her Majesty wished to retire, but the National Guard begged her to do nothing of the sort, but to allow them to arrest the rascals, of whom they had no fear. They then began to shout, "Long live the King and the royal family!" and they so overpowered the shouts of the Federates that the latter, being the weaker, were obliged to hold their tongues and take off their hats. On the next day they complained to the Assembly, which, although informed of their insolence, received them none the less favourably.

The men of the National Guard who accompanied the Queen on this occasion showed her such profound respect, such sincere and deep sorrow at what had transpired, as to cause general emotion. The Queen testified her appreciation to them with the grace and goodness that accompanied all she said. They

belonged to the good Filles Saint Thomas battalion; if all the National Guard had been like them, we should not have experienced the misfortunes we have never ceased to lament. It seemed as if Heaven shared the wrath of these brave fellows; the noise of the thunder which burst forth on every side and mingled with the great bells of Saint Sulpice, which rang out at that moment, added still more to the sadness that came over us. It was as if we were assisting at the funeral of the Monarchy. Scarcely had we got back to the Castle than a violent storm broke out; thunderbolts fell more than once in the neighbourhood of the Tuileries, and seemed to be a presage of the misfortunes we were on the eve of experiencing.

A few days afterwards M. d'Éprémenil, when walking on the Feuillants terrace, for the purpose of hearing what was said, mixed with the people, and was unfortunately recognised. He was accused of being a Coblentz spy, robbed, struck with swords, threatened with the lamp-post, and would certainly have perished if it had not been for some men of the National Guard, who succeeded in extricating him from the fury of the populace, and conveying him to the public Treasury. Péthion, having been informed of what had transpired, went at once to M. d'Éprémenil, and seeing him covered with blood and more or less dangerous wounds, he betrayed great emotion, which was still further increased when M. d'Éprémenil, holding out his hand and

looking fixedly at him, said to him, "And l
Péthion, was the idol of the people." His w
fortunately were not mortal; but as he remain
France, he in the end fell a victim to the re
tionary fury.

The soldiers of the National Guard who had
maltreated and insulted by the populace for h
saved M. d'Éprémenil, came to the Assembl
request that the Feuillants terrace should be c
in order to obviate any collision between the Na
Guard and the citizens: but the request was
refused. M. de Kersaint imputed to M. d'Épré
intentions which the latter had not entert
adding that his name alone had been the cau
the excessive violence, and that the people, lo
upon the Tuileries as a hostile country, had
attempted to cross the barrier set up against
by a decree of the Assembly. Thuriot asserted
the Guard, who said they had been outraged,
nothing but a set of cut-throats, and that great
ought to be taken to confine admission int
Castle guard to citizens whose names were o
service roll.

The hope of being useful to the King had,
matter of fact, induced several persons attach
his service to enter the National Guard. The
de Choiseul and several other Court perso
had, for the same reason, taken this step; but
were not long in perceiving the futility of
proceeding.

The Marseilles army, whose arrival had been heralded for so long a time, reached Paris at length on the 30th of July. It was composed of all the bandits of the south. At the beginning it only consisted of six or seven hundred men; but having while on the march been recruited by all the disreputable characters who wished to join, it had become much stronger. It entered the city with arms and baggage, and followed by two guns. It was the *corps d'élite* of the rebels, on which they relied principally for the execution of their plans. Péthion found barracks for them in the Cordeliers district, so well known by means of its club, whence issued the most violent and inflammatory motions. It was clearly seen on this occasion how little reliance could be placed on a National Guard which, sixty battalions strong, with a hundred guns, allowed a handful of brigands to establish themselves in one of the quarters of the town, and permitted itself to be subjugated by them without offering the slightest resistance. The presence of the Marseillais was marked by a certain movement of popular excitement. Their sinister designs, and the insults in which they indulged against the citizens who wore silk cockades instead of the woollen ones which they themselves had adopted, increased their natural audacity, which was excited by those who counted surely on profiting by it.

Provocations were of daily occurrence between the two parties in the city, and they gave rise to a

quarrel between the Marseillais and a battalion of the National Guard. Some men, who sought to provoke a quarrel, designedly insulted some soldiers of this battalion, who, determined not to allow themselves to be molested, answered in a manner which disquieted their assailants, who called the Marseillais to their assistance. A hundred of them responded to the call, and the quarrel was just about to assume a serious appearance when some prudent people interposed between the two parties, and succeeded in calming them. Everybody thought that it was all over, when the soldiers of this battalion, which was on guard at the Tuileries, as they were quietly returning to their quarters, were followed by the Marseillais, who began again not only to insult them, but also to attack them. Three of them, who were going back by way of the Rue Saint Florentin, were assailed, and pierced through and through. M. du Hamel, a Lieutenant of the Filles Saint Thomas battalion, was killed, and ten others were more or less wounded. Their comrades came to their assistance, and wounded several Marseillais. The fear of the arrival of men of the National Guard to avenge their comrades, alone made the assailants retire. All the men of the National Guard belonged to the Filles Saint Thomas battalion, and had only been attacked because of their attachment to the King and the royal family. The wounded men, who returned to the Tuileries, received there all the attention they needed, and several of them had their

wounds attended to by Madame Elizabeth with her own hands.

The audacity of the rebels redoubled after the arrival of the Marseillais, and they even insulted the Queen from underneath the window of her private room, which opened on to the courtyard. I dared no longer have Mgr. the Dauphin in my rooms, which looked on to the same courtyard, and, as they were on the ground floor, were somewhat dangerously situated. When our walk was over I took him upstairs again to his own room; the Abbé Davaux there occupied his attention in such a way that he was prevented from knowing either the wearisomeness or the danger of his position; and in the evening M. de Fleurieu, who had been in the Navy, a clever man and a marvellous story-teller, described his voyages to him, which amused him and instructed him pleasantly. This amiable child, who was not old enough to foresee the misfortunes which threatened him, was still happy, and said all sorts of kind things to me and my daughter Pauline about the happiness we contrived for him—a happiness destined, alas! to be so short-lived.

The young Prince, who was extremely discreet, never repeated anything he heard in my rooms or those of the Queen. "Confess," he said to me one day, "that I am very discreet, and that I have never compromised anybody" (for this expression, which ought to have been unfamiliar at his age, was only too well known by him). "I am inquisitive; I like to

know what is going on ; and if I am not trusted, d not say anything before me, and then I shall kno nothing." This discretion, so rare at his age, h retained until his death, in spite of the ill treatmen he endured during his frightful captivity.

The Queen was so indifferently guarded, and i was so easy to break into her rooms, that I urge upon her to sleep in the room of Mgr. the Dauphin She was reluctant to consent, not wishing anybod to have an idea of her anxiety about her own posi tion ; but it having been pointed out to her tha anybody might pass up the private staircase of th young Prince without being detected, she finall gave her consent, but only for those days when ther might be disturbances in Paris. This Princess wa so good and so mindful of all who were attached t her, that she thought very much of causing them th slightest annoyance. Never was there a more win ning Princess, nor one who showed more appreciatio of the devotion displayed towards her, or was mor mindful of everything that could be pleasing to thos around her. Will any one credit that a Queen o France was reduced to having a little dog to sleep i her room, to warn her if the slightest noise was hear in it ?

Mgr. the Dauphin, who was very fond of th Queen, was delighted to have her sleeping in hi room, and ran to her bed as soon as she was awake put his little arms round her, and said all sorts o tender and loving things to her. This was the onl

minute in the day when her Majesty experienced any consolation; she was sustained by her courage alone, and by the hope that the foreign Powers would extricate her from her cruel position. "They are fully aware of it," she said to me one day, "and they know quite well that we are masters neither of our words nor our actions."

The King, who had refused to sanction the decree for the encampment of twenty thousand men in Paris, in consequence of its composition as proposed by the Assembly, suggested, by way of allaying its anxiety in regard to the approach of the foreign Powers, the establishment of a camp at Soissons, which would be midway between the frontiers and the capital, to consist of troops of the Line, whose commanding officers would have the confidence of the Assembly. He informed it at the same time that he had appointed as Generals of this camp MM. de Custine, Alexandre Beauharnais, Charton, junr., and Servan.

The Emperor and the King of Prussia having given the command of the armies assembled on the frontiers of France to the Duke of Brunswick, the latter wished, before invading France, to announce to its inhabitants the motives which guided the two sovereigns, and in consequence issued the following manifesto:—

"1st. The wish to cause justice to be done to the Princes in possession in Alsace and Lorraine.

"2d. To put an end to the anarchy existing in France, and to the attacks against the throne and the royal Majesty, by reason of the pressure brought to

bear on the King and his august family; and to re-establish the power of the law.

"To restore to the King the safety and liberty of which he was deprived, and to place him in a position to exercise the legitimate authority which he ought always to have preserved."

He declared, moreover, in the name of the two Powers, "that they had no intention of enriching themselves by conquest, nor of meddling in the government of France, but merely of securing to the King the means of being able to summon such Assemblies as he thought proper, in order that they might labour in the interests of the welfare of his subjects.

"That the combined armies would protect all those who would submit to the King, and would combine in aid of the re-establishment of order in the kingdom.

"That they would direct the National Guard to watch over the safety of persons and property until the arrival of the troops, under pain of being held responsible for them, adding that all persons who might be taken with arms in their hands would be treated as rebels to their King and disturbers of public order.

"That the members of the Departments, Districts, and Municipalities would be held equally responsible with their lives and property for all excesses committed in their respective districts; ordering them to continue to perform their duties

until the King should otherwise direct; summoning all generals, officers, non-commissioned officers, and men of the Line to submit at once to the King as their legitimate Sovereign; and notifying to the inhabitants of villages who might dare to oppose the troops of their Imperial and Royal Majesties, and to fire on them, that they would be treated with all the rigour of military law, and that their houses would be razed or burnt, whereas those inhabitants who hastened to submit to their King would be taken under the protection of the allied troops.

"Their Imperial and Royal Majesties ordered the city of Paris and its inhabitants, without distinction, to submit to the King at once, and to restore to him, together with his liberty, the regard and respect due to his person and the royal family, holding them responsible for all violence committed against them, for which they would exact striking vengeance by handing Paris over to martial law and utter ruin. They protested in advance against all laws and decisions emanating from the King so long as he and his family were not in a place of safety, and they invited his Majesty to name the town in his kingdom nearest to the frontier where he would be pleased to retire under ample escort, in order to summon thither the Ministers and Councillors whom he thought proper to consult for the purpose of considering the means of re-establishing order and regulating the administration of the kingdom;

[illegible] Brest their troops observe the [illegible] and protecting the inhabitants. [illegible] oppose the march of the [illegible] give them assistance in case of need."

This manifesto exasperated the Assembly, which [illegible] with cries of vengeance; the most violent anger: [illegible] was proposed to arm the [illegible] with pikes, knives, axes and slings. In the [illegible] Lameth exclaimed, "Will no [illegible] point out a mode in which these [illegible]"

The manifesto of the Duke of Brunswick compelled the King to make a fresh declaration of his sentiments in order to oppose the invasion of France. He spoke to his erring people as a father who was only anxious for their welfare and their return to duty; recalling all that he had sacrificed in the hope of making them happy, seeking to prove to them that by calm and rigid compliance with the Constitution they would succeed in avoiding the misfortunes with which they saw themselves threatened.

In reply to this declaration Péthion presented himself to the Assembly, and requested permission to read a petition, with which the sections had entrusted him as the first magistrate of the Commune, denouncing the executive power. This petition, drawn up by the rebels, was couched in very violent terms. It represented the King as

strongly opposed to the Constitution, and extolled the clemency of the nation in regard to his journey to Varennes. It accused the King of betraying the nation, and held him responsible for all the misfortunes of which the two Assemblies were the authors. It demanded his deposition, and the nomination of a Convention to pronounce it; pointed out the necessity for a change in the dynasty; and demanded that, until the establishment of a Convention, the Assembly should appoint Ministers taken from without their own body, to exercise provisionally the functions of the executive power until the will of the people should be declared by the mouth of the National Convention. It concluded by stating that if cowards and traitors ranged themselves on the side of the enemy, the latter would find ten million men ready to die in defence of their country.

Several sections followed this example, and the Assembly decreed that on the 9th of August it would take into consideration the question of the deposition.

After lengthy debates on the validity of the denunciation of M. de la Fayette, a denunciation disavowed by Marshal Luckner, the Assembly decreed that there were not any grounds of accusation against that General.

The conduct of the Duke d'Orleans having opened the eyes of the Duchess, she requested and obtained a judicial separation from that Prince,

and she then retired to the residence of the Duke de Penthièvre, her father. The Princess de Lamballe, whom the Duke d'Orleans accused of having assisted the Duchess, was from that moment the object of his hatred, and this is said to have been one of the causes which led to the cruel end of this unhappy Princess.

The Jacobins, secure of the direction of the movement they were preparing to carry out, no longer held back; and their plan was so well known that Branger, the medical attendant of Mgr. the Dauphin, handed to me, more than a week before the event, a little pamphlet which was an exact programme of the frightful day, and was rigidly observed.

It had become impossible to deceive ourselves as to the danger we were in. The Assembly, whose interests were indentical with those of the Jacobins, having the control of every administration, and concentrating all power in itself, left the King but little hope of being able to resist enemies as dangerous as they were, and embittered against himself, and everything gave reason to fear that his Majesty would in the end succumb in so unequal a struggle.

In this extremity his Majesty was advised to treat with the Jacobins and the leading rebels in the Assembly; to win over the former by the expectation of lucrative posts flattering to their ambition and their cupidity, and the latter by the bait of considerable sums of money; and in this way to succeed in warding off the storm which was on the eve of bursting forth.

Boze, painter to the King, and very much attached to his Majesty, who was known to have some relations with Vergniaud and some other deputies of the Gironde, was deputed to treat with them. There was also a question of entering into negotiations with Péthion, Santerre, Lacroix, and other Jacobins. But they declared positively that they would only treat with an aristocrat of thoroughly established reputation; for, they said, "we have never been deceived by them, but we have been more than once by the Constitutionals."

The Queen asked me if I still knew in Paris an honest man, above all suspicion, and capable of adroitly carrying on such a negotiation, and I mentioned to her M. de la Chèze, a member of the Right of the Constituent Assembly, honest and disinterested beyond all proof, who, even among the party opposed to his own, enjoyed the highest consideration. But I could not conceal from her that, as he was the father of eight children, he might possibly have some difficulty in undertaking a negotiation whose consequences might be so dangerous. When the proposition was first made to him, he never hesitated for a moment. "I do not recognise," he said, "the danger of any proceeding, so long as it can be of use to my King, and I would willingly sacrifice my life to extricate him from the cruel position in which he is placed."

The King made him come to his private room, into which he was introduced secretly by my foot-

man who brought him up the little staircase of Mgr. the Dauphin, so that nobody might know of his coming. He was charged to sound the persons in question, in order to ascertain what they asked, and if their promises could be relied upon. They asked 800,000 francs to be divided among them, and they undertook to use every means in their power to ward off the impending blow. Péthion promised to proceed to the Castle on the first rumour of danger, and to give orders to repel force by force, in case any attack should be made against the Tuileries.

M. de la Chèze had several interviews with them, and believing that he had convinced them of the great interest they had in saving the King, in regard to the safety of their lives and fortunes, he betook himself to his Majesty to report their demands and their promises. In order to convince the King of their sincerity they took, in concert with him, certain preparatory steps, but they were of such a nature as not to compromise their secret. The King accepted their proposals, and in order not to compromise M. de la Chèze, in case his interviews had been noticed, he directed me to hand him the 800,000 francs which he had been unable to give him on the spot.

The Constitutionals, alarmed by the danger they were incurring, by reason of the peril overhanging the King, resolved to help him in spite of himself, and they conceived the idea of making sure of the leaders of the Jacobins and the rebels in the Assembly,

and of getting together the prudent and moderate deputies, who would necessarily bring many others in their train, and of restoring to the King the authority necessary for enforcing the Constitution.

The Jacobins, having got wind of this plot, became all the more bent on carrying out their designs; and those who had been in treaty with the King, suspecting his good faith, besides being uncertain as to the issue of the 10th of August, and afraid of being found out, during the night joined the majority of the Assembly, and on the following morning made a parade of sentiments dictated by fear, which they were compelled to persist in, until they themselves became the victims of their colleagues—so true is it that courage and good faith are rarely found in alliance with vice and personal interest.

Everything that transpired was a cause of the deepest anxiety to thinking people, and everybody conveyed to the King the news received about the state of Paris. M. de Paroy, fearing for the lives of their Majesties and Mgr. the Dauphin, begged me to offer the Queen, on his behalf, three cuirasses of twelve folds of taffetas, impenetrable by bullet or dagger, which he had had made for her, the King, and Mgr. the Dauphin; and he sent me a dagger wherewith to try them. I took them to the Queen, who at once tried on that intended for her; and seeing me with the dagger in my hand, she said to me with the utmost coolness, "Strike me, and see if it answers." I could not endure such an idea; it

made me shudder, and I said that nothing would induce me to do any such thing. She then took off her cuirass and I seized it; I put it on over my dress and struck it with the dagger, and, as M. de Paroy had said, I found it impenetrable. . The Queen then agreed with the King that they should each of them put one on at the slightest symptom of danger, and they did so. This incident will give an idea of the horrible position of the royal family, and the occupants of the Tuileries, who were reduced to the employment of such devices.

CHAPTER X.

THE YEAR 1792.

The 9th and 10th of August—The King resolves to go to the Assembly—He and his Family are made Prisoners there, and spend three days within it, being taken each day to its Sittings, and having to listen to the most violent Speeches against his Majesty—The Commune of Paris makes itself Master of the Assembly, takes possession on its own responsibility of the Persons of the King and the Royal Family, and demands their Imprisonment in the Temple—Péthion, Manuel, and several other Municipal Officers take them there—The Princess de Lamballe, Pauline, and I, together with several Persons in their service, who had obtained permission to share their Captivity in the Temple, are removed a week afterwards, and taken to La Force—The 2d and 3d of September—Death of the Princess de Lamballe.

GREAT care was taken to foster the excitement which prevailed among the inhabitants of the Faubourgs, the Federates, and the Marseillais. Drink and money were given to them; and emboldened by the rebel leaders, who called them together and incited them to bloodshed, they conceived the most frightful projects. Their proceedings became so threatening that M. Joly, Minister of Justice, on the 9th of August, wrote to the Assembly to say that the evil was at its height; that eight letters, which he had written in succession to report the progress of the excite-

ment, remained unanswered: that it was evident that a terrible step was in preparation for the following day; and that, without some prompt assistance from the Corps Législatif, it would be impossible for the Government to answer either for person or property. Several members of the Assembly complained of having been insulted, and M. de Vaublanc requested that their meeting-place might without delay be transferred elsewhere.

After several debates, the Assembly merely sent for Rœderer, the Procureur-Syndic of the Department, to ascertain from him what was going on. He stated that as soon as he heard of the insult paid to the deputies, he went to the Mayor, and asked him for an account of the current rumour that nine hundred men were to enter Paris that evening; that he assured him that he knew nothing about it, but that, in consequence of what had transpired, he had on the previous evening called a meeting of the Municipal body for that morning, and of the Council for the evening; that he had directed the Municipal Officers to repair to the Assembly and the Castle, and had written to the Commandant-General of the National Guard to reinforce the various posts, and hold a force in reserve. He added that the Council-General of the Department had received a resolution from the Roi-de-Sicile section, declaring its disapproval of that forwarded by the Quinze-Vingts section. This resolution announced that if the Assembly should not have by the following day decided as to the fate of the

King, the section would sound the assembly for the people to rise *en masse;* and that it was sending copies of the resolution to the forty-seven other sections of Paris, and to the Federates, inviting them to give their adhesion to it. The Council-General had censured the resolution on the spot, and had directed the Municipality to inform it of the steps that had been taken to prevent it from being put in force.

Péthion presented himself at the bar of the House to report the steps taken by him for the maintenance of public order, which was disturbed, so he said, by the rumours of the removal of the King. The miscreant had always means in reserve to justify his conduct in case of need.

The King, alive at last to the necessity of defending himself in case of attack, sent for ninety Suisses from Courbevoie for the defence of the Castle. They were posted at all the exits and on the interior staircases, with orders not to fire except in defence of the National Guard. Those of the latter who were stationed in the Tuileries, and especially the Filles Saint Thomas battalion, were well disposed to second them. They and the Suisses were commanded by MM. de Menou and de Boissière, and M. de la Jarre, an ex-Minister. All the gentlemen in Paris, and especially all the officers of the King's Guard, repaired to the Castle to defend his Majesty. They were commanded by Marshal de Mailly, who had under him M. de Puységur, an ex-Minister of the

King, and MM. d'Hervilly and de Pont l'Abbé. M. d'Hervilly requested the King to give him an order to seize the Arsenal, the arms of his Guard which had been deposited there, and the stock of cartridges. His Majesty, who did not wish to be accused of being the aggressor in the movement in preparation, declined to accede to this request. The rebels, less scrupulous, began by taking possession of the Arsenal, and on the horrible 10th of August made use of the arms of the Royal Guard and the cartridges they found there.

Several servants of his Majesty joined the ranks of the gentlemen to aid them in his defence. Zealous persons patrolled throughout the night, and having been arrested, they furnished the rebels with the means of increasing the excitement. At midnight the tocsin and the general assembly were sounded. It was thought prudent to summon Péthion to the Castle. He came willingly, and even gave M. Maudat, Commandant-General of the National Guard, an order to repel by force any attack on the Castle. The brave Filles Saint Thomas battalion of the National Guard, wishing to induce him, out of consideration for his own safety, to join them in defending the King, said, loud enough for him to hear, "We have got him here at last; he shall not get out, and his head shall answer to us for the safety of his Majesty." Alarmed by this remark, he found means to inform the Assembly of his danger, and he was ordered to appear at the bar of the House by a decree. No

opposition was made to it, and he consequently left the Castle to repair to the Assembly, which he assured of his vigilance in the cause of public order. And it, convinced that it could rely upon him, sent him back to his duties.

The National Guard was afoot all night without receiving any orders as to the line of conduct it was to pursue. The King was unable to issue any without the sanction of his Ministers, and the latter dared not sign any because of their responsibility. The Commandant-General, who by law was under the orders of the Municipality, could not issue any orders except by requisition from it, and the fate of the King was consequently in the hands of Péthion and Manuel.

At five o'clock the King inspected the National Guard, and had every reason to be content with the arrangements that had been made ; but Péthion, who had completely gone over again to the side of the rebels, and was uneasy on account of the sentiments entertained by this portion of the National Guard, had it relieved at six o'clock by battalions on which he could rely, and the inspection of the relief made by the King was anything but satisfactory.

Among the new battalions there were some men with pikes, who incited the wavering men of the National Guard to revolt. Among them shouts were heard of " Long live Péthion ! Long live the Nation ! Down with the traitors and the veto ! " Whole bodies of the National Guard ranged themselves on

the side of the rebels, so that the King had only the Suisses to rely upon, together with six hundred men of the National Guard, and about three hundred others, gentlemen, officers of the Royal Guard, and servants of his Majesty, armed only with swords and pistols, all sincerely attached to him, and dressed in civilian attire so as not to give any umbrage to the National Guard.

In the Council Chamber, before the door of the King's room, there were about twenty grenadiers of the National Guard, to whom the Queen addressed these words:—"Gentlemen, all that you hold dear, your wives and children, depend on our existence; our interests are one." And pointing to the little knot of gentlemen who were in the rooms, she added, —"You cannot distrust these brave men, who will share your danger, and will defend you to their latest breath." Moved to tears, they gave utterance to their generous resolution to die, if necessary, in defence of their Majesties.

Nobody in the Castle went to bed; everybody remained in the rooms, anxiously awaiting the upshot of a day which broke under such sinister auspices. The Queen spoke to everybody in the most affectionate manner, and encouraged the zeal which was displayed by all. I and my daughter Pauline spent the night by the side of Mgr. the Dauphin, whose calm and peaceful slumbers were in striking contrast with the agitation that reigned in every mind.

About four A.M. I went to the apartments of the

King to find out what was going on, and what we had to hope or fear. "I have," said M. d'Hervilly to me, "the worst possible opinion about to-day; the worst thing to do is to do nothing, and as a matter of fact nothing is being done."

About seven A.M. it was announced that the inhabitants of the Faubourgs, and the Marseillais were advancing against the Castle; that Commissioners chosen by the rebels of the forty-eight sections had been constituted a General Council of the Commune; that they had sent for M. Maudat, Commandant of the National Guard, under pretence of conferring with him; had assassinated him near the Hotel de Ville so as to get possession of the written order he had received from Péthion to repel force by force, and were carrying his head through Paris; that Santerre had been appointed his successor; that the Staff had been replaced; and that all this had been done in concert with the Vigilance Committee of the Assembly, who had placed more than 4,000,000 francs at the disposal of Santerre, for the purpose of fostering the insurrection. The Assembly, conscious of the danger it incurred if the Foreign Powers got the upper hand, made use of every effort to associate the people with its crimes, in order that, by the loss of every hope of pardon, they might be roused to resistance by fear.

The order of the Council of the Department and the Municipality, communicated to the National Guard, to defend the King as the constituted autho-

[illegible] to the mobs by Commissioners despatched to the Faubourgs for the purpose: but it had so little effect on the newly-arrived battalions, that the masters unloaded and shattered their guns as soon as they heard of the approach of the Marseillais and the brigands of the capital. M. d'Hervilly, perceiving how impossible it was to make use of these men in defence of the King, shut them up at once so that they might not be employed against the Castle.

The King who had already sent to the Assembly to request that a deputation might be despatched to overawe the rebels, renewed his request through M. July, Minister of Justice: but, under the pretext that a sufficient number of members were not present, Cambon succeeded in carrying the adjournment of the House, despite the perilous position of the King, which grew worse every moment.

The uncertainty in regard to what step to take in such imminent danger appeared to Roederer to be a favourable opportunity for inducing the King to proceed to the Assembly. He went to his Majesty, accompanied by several members of the Department, and begging him to send away the large number of persons about him, he spoke to him as follows:—"Sire, the danger is imminent; the constituted authorities have no force at their disposal, and defence is impossible. Your Majesty and your family, as well as everybody in the Castle, are in the greatest danger; to prevent bloodshed there is no other resource than to repair to the Assembly."

The Queen, who was standing by the King, remarked that it was impossible to abandon all the brave men who had come to the Castle solely to defend the King. "If you oppose this step," said Roederer to her, in a severe tone of voice, "you will be responsible, Madame, for the lives of the King and your children." The poor, unhappy Queen was silent, and she experienced such a revulsion of feeling that her face and neck in a moment became suffused with blotches. She was distressed beyond measure to see the King listening to the advice of a man so justly suspected, and she appeared to foresee all the misfortunes that awaited her. Roederer held out great hopes to the royal family of the success of this proceeding, and of their speedy return to the Castle. The Queen, though far from believing him, repeated his words to those whom she was so grieved to leave; and the King, deeply moved, turning to this faithful band, could only say to them, "Gentlemen, I beg of you to withdraw and abandon a useless defence; there is nothing more to be done here either for you or for me."

There was general consternation when the King was seen leaving for the Assembly; the Queen accompanied him, holding her two children by the hand. By their side were Madame Elizabeth and the Princess de Lamballe, who, as a relative of their Majesties, was permitted to accompany them; and I walked behind Mgr. the Dauphin. The King was accompanied by his Ministers, and escorted

by a detachment of the National Guard. I left my dear Pauline with a heart half dead with fear as I thought of the danger she was about to run; and I commended her to the care of the good Princess de Tarente, who promised me that she would never leave her, but would share her fate.

We went sadly through the Tuileries on our way to the Assembly. MM. de Poix, d'Hervilly, de Fleurieu, de Bachmann, Major of the Suisses, the Duke de Choiseul, my son, and several others followed his Majesty, but they were not allowed to enter. At the door there was a crowd who made us fear momentarily for the lives of the King and Queen. A passage was at length made for them, and they were received at the door by a deputation sent by the Assembly for that purpose. The King crossed the hall accompanied by his Ministers, and placed himself by the side of the President; the Queen, with her children and suite, stood opposite. "I am come, gentlemen," said the King, "to avoid a serious attack, thinking that I cannot be in greater security than in your midst." Vergniaud, who was presiding, replied, "You may rely, Sire, on the firmness of the National Assembly; its members have sworn to die in the maintenance of the rights of the constituted authorities."

The King then took his seat by the side of the President, and the royal family sat on the ministerial bench. But as several members of the Assembly

pointed out that deliberation in presence of the King was forbidden by the Constitution, the Assembly decided that the King and the royal family should retire to the reporters' gallery behind the presidential chair. The faithful servants of his Majesty at once tore down the barriers of this gallery, and for a portion of the day were thus in communication with the royal family.

Roederer appeared at the bar, accompanied by the administrators of the Department and the Municipality, to give an account of what was going on in Paris, and of the motives which had induced him to prevail upon the King to repair to the Assembly. "Our force," he added, "was paralysed, and no longer even existed; we could not procure any other than it should please the Assembly to give us. We have this moment heard that the Castle has been broken into."

The Assembly passed a decree placing persons and property under the safeguard of the people, and sent a deputation of twenty-five of its members to convey this declaration. Scarcely had it set out than the noise of cannon and musketry was heard. The deputation dispersed, and one portion of it returned to the hall. The King reassured them by telling them that he had given orders that there was to be no firing; but the Assembly, seeing that armed men were coming in, put a stop to it. Even in the midst of its success, it was half dead with fear, and was always dreading lest somebody should

[illegible] to deliver the King and lay [illegible] the rebels.

[illegible] arrived who deposed that the [illegible] them, or by friendly signals, and [illegible] number of them. "We have set [illegible]" they said, "and we will not [illegible] the people shall have obtained justice [illegible] We are charged once more to [illegible] deposition of the executive power; [illegible] expect this justice from you." The [illegible] The Assembly is watching over [illegible] Empire: assure the people that it [illegible] consideration the important [illegible] by its safety."

[illegible] from the Thermes section appeared [illegible] that it agreed with the petition [illegible] previous evening in favour of the [illegible] executive power: that the people, [illegible] crimes of the Court, had sworn to [illegible] liberty and equality, and that every citizen in Paris shared these sentiments. "Dare you swear," they said to the deputies, "that you will save the Empire?" "Yes," replied the deputies, rising to their feet, "we swear it."

The concert of all these seditious voices, joined with the noise of cannon and musketry, gave us all a fright. Each discharge of cannon made us tremble; the hearts of the King and Queen were lacerated; and we were plunged in profound sorrow as we thought of the fate that was, perhaps at that

very moment, befalling those we had left in the Tuileries. The poor little Dauphin cried, thought of those whom he loved and had left behind in the Castle, threw himself in my arms, and kissed me. Several deputies noticed this, and the Queen said to them, "My son is tenderly attached to the daughter of his governess, who has remained in the Tuileries; he shares the anxiety of her mother, and that which we too feel as to the fate of those whom we have left there." In spite of their ferocity, they could not help a feeling of compassion and pity as they looked at that lovable child, who, at so tender an age, was beginning already to feel the misfortunes in store for him. The new representatives of the Commune, who were destined speedily to dictate laws to the Assembly, came to inform it of the provisional appointment of Santerre as Commandant of the National Guard of Paris, and the continuance of Péthion, Manuel, and Danton in the posts held by them. Montaut moved that each deputy should ascend the tribune, and swear to maintain liberty and equality, and to die at his post, and we heard them, one after the other, repeat the same words for more than two hours.

The firemen who had been summoned to put out the fire at the Tuileries, came to the Assembly to point out that it was impossible for them to succeed in doing so unless commissioners were sent there to restore order. It replied at first that this care belonged to the Municipality; but on the representa-

tion of Orleans that it was a shame to let the conflagration extend, and that it was urgently necessary to place a trustworthy man in command of the firemen. He appointed Pauly, the city architect to that post, he having been noticeable for his zeal in the occasion of the destruction of the Bastille.

Several faithful servants of the King, having found means to gain access to the Assembly, went to the King in the reporters' gallery, and gave his Majesty an account of what was going on at the Tuileries. They told us that the women had got away without any accident, and my son assured me that Pauline was in safety. This certainty and his presence were a great consolation to my heart, although it was still deeply grieved by the fate of the many brave fellows who were devoted to the King and the royal family. Mgr. the Dauphin was charming on this occasion on account of the sympathy with which he displayed his satisfaction at knowing that his dear Pauline was out of danger. These gentlemen told us that the Suisses had got the upper hand for a moment, but as they were unsupported, and the crowd increased every moment, they had been compelled to retire; that a great number of them were killed, and that the general fury had extended to the attendants of private individuals, of whom several, and especially mine, had perished; and that it was impossible to help feeling that there would be many more victims, so great was the rage

which animated the mob, who were by this time masters of the Castle.

At this moment news was brought that the Suisses were marching against the Assembly, that the Federates were on their way to meet them, and that a bloody engagement was about to take place. The Assembly was afraid, and requested the King to permit one of those around him to go and parley with them, and make them give up their arms. The President proposed that the order should be given in writing, and M. d'Hervilly offered to undertake the commission; but before starting he declared that he could not act to any purpose unless he had the order and signature of his Majesty. The Assembly, afraid of the possibility of the arrival of the Suisses, hastened to give the King pen, ink, and paper, so that he might give the order for the Suisses to lay down their arms and retrace their steps. M. d'Hervilly crossed the Rue Saint Honoré amid a shower of bullets which rained on him from all sides, and he was admired by all these maniacs for his bravery. Seeing with sorrow how impossible it was for the Suisses to resist the multitude of armed men who were hurrying to meet them, he conveyed to them the order of the King that they were to lay down their arms, and he returned to report the result of his commission.

The Marsellais and other brigands, seeing the Suisses disarmed, rushed upon them, and the latter were obliged to hide themselves and change their

clothes, in order to avoid falling victims to the popular fury. The Assembly was informed that M. d'Affry had been placed in prison for the sake of his own safety, and that the seals had been deposited at his house. It then decreed, on the motion of Bazire, that the Suisses should be placed under the safeguard of the law and the hospitable virtues of the people; but this did not prevent the latter from putting to death every man who fell in their power.

The deputies, uneasy at seeing the King surrounded by people who were attached to him, declared that the King ought to have no other guard than the National Guard, and that everybody else ought to retire. Count Charles de Chabot, who had remained in this Guard for the purpose of being useful to the King, went at once to put on his uniform and get his musket, and he did sentry at the door of the reporters' gallery. As the marks of attachment he had displayed towards his Majesty rendered him an object of suspicion to the rebels, he was arrested a few days after the King entered the Temple, and he was taken to the Abbaye prison, where he was one of the first victims of the 2d of September.

He had for some time past adopted the principles of the Revolution; but being an upright man and pure in heart, he recognised the danger of such a step, and from that time never ceased to endeavour to repair the error of a mind carried away by the remarks he heard day by day in the house of the Duchess d'Enville, his grandmother. She had long

been in league with the various members of the Philosophical Society, who had imbued her with their pretended principles of liberty and equality, under which they concealed their ambition and love of power. They made her pay dearly for the support she gave them at the commencement of the Revolution, seeing that her son and grandson were massacred by reason of their principles.

Lamarque announced to the Assembly that the despatch of letters had been stopped, so as to prevent any alarm being conveyed to the Departments. He proposed that an address should be issued to the French nation to inform it that its representatives would neglect nothing to secure the safety of the country, which could only be effected by the union of all good spirits. The Assembly adopted this motion, and directed him to draw up the address.

Vergniaud spoke next. "I am come," he said, "in the name of the Extraordinary Commission, to propose to you a very rigorous but very necessary measure, in spite of the grief to which you are a prey. The dangers of the country, which are at their height, proceed from the distrust inspired by the chief of the executive power in a struggle undertaken against the national liberty and independence. Addresses from all parts of the Empire demand the revocation of the authority delegated to Louis XVI.; and the Assembly, being unwilling to aggrandise its own authority by any assumption of power, proposes that you should decree—the establishment of a National Convention

the mode of whose convention shall be left to you; the organisation of a new Ministry, the present Ministers retaining their portfolios provisionally until they are replaced; the appointment of a governor to the Prince Royal; the suppression of the civil list, the registers of which shall be deposited in the offices of the Assembly, a sum of 400,000 francs being alone allowed for the expenses of the royal family, up to the establishment of the Convention; the residence of the King and the royal family to be fixed within the buildings of the Corps Législatif, until order shall be restored in Paris, with an injunction to the Department to prepare an abode for him in the Luxembourg, where he will be under the guard of the citizens and the law; a declaration of infamy and treason against every public functionary, soldier, officer, or even general, of whatever rank he may be, who shall abandon his post; and an order to publish this decree at once, and to send it to the eighty-three Departments, obliging them to have it conveyed to the various Municipalities of their jurisdiction within twenty-four hours.

As may easily be imagined, this motion was converted into a decree on the spot.

As soon as the Ministers heard the reproaches heaped upon the King, on which the Assembly based its motion for the suspension of royalty, they wanted to appear at the bar of the Assembly to take upon themselves the responsibility for the conduct of the

King; but he absolutely forbade them to do so. "You will increase the number of victims without being able to be of any use to me, and there will be one sorrow more for me. Withdraw, I order you, and do not return here." The misfortunes that were overwhelming this excellent Prince did not prevent him from watching over all those who were attached to him.

The Queen, distressed at the prospect of being separated from Mgr. the Dauphin, and of seeing him in the hands of any one chosen by such an Assembly, begged several deputies, on whom she thought she could rely, to seek some mode of parrying a blow which she would feel so deeply. They succeeded all the more easily because the Assembly, which had the establishment of a Republic in view, cared very little about bestowing a Governor on Mgr. the Dauphin.

While the Assembly was passing decree after decree, the Tuileries were given over to pillage. To the Assembly were brought the gold, the jewels found in the apartments of the Queen, and various other objects which were offered for its acceptance. A trunk full of assignats and a packet of letters were also brought there. The latter were sent to the Vigilance Committee, and many others to the Commune; for when we were taken to the Hotel de Ville on our way to La Force, we saw a heap of letters in Tallien's office. The various effects were also taken to the Commune, and the assignats were deposited in the Archives.

It is a remarkable fact that this army of bandits refrained from robbery in the Tuileries, and pitilessly put to death all persons surprised in the act of appropriating anything belonging to the Castle. The sole exceptions were in the cases of wines and liqueurs, of which not a single bottle was left. It smashed, broke, and scattered everything about, and there was an enormous amount of destruction which profited nobody.

Every inhabitant of the Tuileries lost everything he possessed; but the greater part of our effects were stolen by the Commissioners stationed in the Castle for the ostensible purpose of protecting them. These men and their associates made no scruple of appropriating anything they took a fancy to. Some linen and wearing apparel were eventually restored to us, but nothing of any intrinsic value.

All the people who brought offerings which they had looted from the Tuileries joined with them the most vulgar abuse of the King and Queen, and as they looked at them, it was easy to see how glad they were to be able to insult them at will. Such baseness was too far beneath their Majesties to make any great impression upon them; but what did touch them nearly, and broke their hearts with grief, was the sight of their most faithful servants at the bar of the House, for they had but too clear an idea of the fate that awaited them at the hands of these maniacs.

Among others so brought in I saw the Viscount

de Maillé, the brother-in-law of the Duchess de Maillé, an intimate friend of mine, to whom I had been attached from my earliest youth. He was covered with blood, his clothes were torn, and it was evident that he had been cruelly ill-treated. He was a brave and loyal gentleman, full of honour and honesty, and had done good service. Devoted to the King, he had not left him during this cruel day until his most faithful servants were separated from him. I cannot describe the effect which this spectacle had upon us. I saw him for the last time that day. Imprisoned at the Abbaye, he was massacred on the 2d of September, leaving a wife and children to lament his irreparable loss.

It is impossible to give any idea of the rapidity with which decree followed decree. One was passed giving the Assembly the right to appoint a Secretary of Council in each Ministry; another provided that each Minister appointed by it could sign all matters relating to his office without having recourse to the sanction of the King; another authorised a camp under the walls of Paris, where all comers could be enlisted. Another decided that the artillery, in compliance with a request put forward by them, might establish artillery esplanades on the heights of Montmartre. It also gave every citizen of the age of twenty-five, and living by his own labour, the right of admission into the primary Assemblies for the establishment of the forthcoming Convention.

It moreover decreed the permanence of the

Assembly, and the appointment of twelve commissioners to be despatched to the four armies, who would compel the Ministers of the King to declare that they had not forwarded any proclamation to them.

To the great satisfaction of the King the appointment of a governor to the Prince Royal was reported, and this was the solitary consolation experienced by the royal family throughout this frightful day.

All the petitions, as well as the decrees, were accompanied by the most atrocious insults against the King and Queen. A large number of the deputies vied with the petitioners in the reproaches they hurled against the unhappy royal family, who passed twelve long hours in listening to a reiteration of everything that could distress their hearts and weary their minds.

Among the number of those who had contributed to the success of this frightful day there were, however, several who, out of respect for the misfortunes of the royal family, infused more reserve and decency into their speeches. The members of the Right, for a long time deprived of all influence and reduced to silence by the majority of the Assembly, showed the King how great was their sorrow, and how deep their regret at not being able to oppose the proceedings which they had the misfortune to witness.

The result of the votes of the Assembly for filling up the various ministerial offices was, first of all, the reappointment of Roland, Servan, and Clavières, as

respectively Ministers of War, Interior, and Finance, and subsequently the appointments of Danton as Minister of Justice, Monge of Marine, de Grouvelle of Foreign Affairs, and Le Brun of Public Taxes.

M. d'Abancourt, Minister of the King in the War Department, was indicted for not having compelled the departure of the Suisses. But after he received the order of the King to leave the Department, he placed himself out of reach of danger, and he could not be arrested.

In conformity with the decree of the Assembly which directed that the King and his family should remain within its precincts until order should reign in Paris, small rooms in the Feuillants were got ready for them. The King was alone in his, being unable to keep with him even those persons who had hitherto been allowed to remain. The Queen and Madame were together in another room, and Madame Elizabeth, Madame de Lamballe, and I were placed in a third with Mgr. the Dauphin. As may well be imagined, we spent a wretched night, and could distinctly hear the uproar and applause in the Assembly; and, with the exception of Mgr. the Dauphin and Madame, who, worn out with fatigue, fell asleep directly, not one of us could close our eyes throughout the night. It was, however, some comfort for the King and Queen to be able to be alone for a short time; but what a moment must that have been when they were able to give way without restraint to all their feelings. A report

was made to them in sad detail of all that was going on in the city—of the consternation rife there, and of the terror inspired by the audacity and fury of the rebels.

Commissioners came at eleven o'clock in the evening to see if we were all in the small rooms allotted to us, but in spite of all their precautions, they could not help feeling a certain amount of anxiety, which made them carry their mistrust to its utmost degree. MM. de Choiseul, de Brézé, de Briges, de Poix, de Nantouillet, de Goguelas, d'Hervilly, d'Aubier, and my son, and several others whose names I cannot recollect, passed the night near the King. But he was not long permitted to enjoy the consolation of seeing himself surrounded by persons on whose attachment he had every reason to rely. On the following morning he was informed that they were to be sent away, under the pretext that their presence might incite the people to fresh excesses. "I am then in prison," said the King, "and less fortunate than Charles I., who kept all his friends with him to the scaffold!" Then, turning to these gentlemen, he expressed his regret at having to part from them, and ordered them to withdraw. The Queen said to them, with tears in her eyes, "Only now do we feel all the horror of our position; you would mitigate it by your presence and your devotion, and they are depriving us of this last consolation." As the royal family were without money and clothes, they all of them

laid at the feet of the King the gold they had upon them, but the King would not accept it. "Keep your purses, gentlemen, you will need them more than we shall, as you will have longer to live, I hope."

The King and Queen continued on the next night to occupy the same rooms, and then, as well as on the following day, they were compelled to hear the congratulations received by the Assembly from deputation after deputation, accompanied by the wonted abuse of the King and the royal family. His Majesty had the misfortune of hearing the transports of joy with which the Assembly received the homage of the colours taken from the Suisses by the Sieur Lange, assisted by the Grenadiers of the Faubourg Saint Laurent, which were at once ordered to be hung from the roof of the Assembly. Similar applause greeted the appointment of a court-martial to try the Suisses, without distinction of rank, and the order given to Santerre to see to the safety of sixty of them who had taken refuge in a building adjoining the Assembly. They wished to give an idea of their generosity in regard to those men, who were all shot on the following day.

The King heard the decree directing the provisional suspension of all the judges in every section of Paris; the order to convey M. de la Porte, Intendant of the Civil List, to the Abbaye, and to seal up all his papers; and, lastly, the report of the Commissioners appointed to make an inventory of

the contents of the private writing-desk of the King and all his papers. In order to complete the measure of insult heaped on our unhappy King, he was condemned to hear Candorcet read the statement of the motives which had decided the Assembly to convoke a National Convention, and to suspend the executive power in the hands of the King. It was a summary of all the misdeeds alleged by the rebels against the King; and of those attributed to the nobility and the priests, whom his Majesty was accused of having supported to the prejudice of the State. In it he was held responsible for the actual war and the conduct of foreign Powers, and the amount of insult to his Majesty contained in this document may be estimated by the fact that it was signed by Guadet, Romme, Goujon, and other Montagne rebels; it was circulated throughout all the Departments.

In order to keep up the excitement in Paris, a rumour was spread of a proposed attempt on the life of Péthion; it was reported to the Assembly that the assassins had been put in irons, and that a guard had been told off to watch over so precious a life.

In order to be in a better position to watch over the King and his family, the Assembly decided to install them in the residence of the Minister of Justice in the Place Vendôme, instead of at the Luxembourg; but this decision was not long adhered to. Manuel, in the name of the Commune of Paris, came to the Assembly to point out that as it was

charged with the custody of the King, it proposed to remove him to the Temple, where it thought he would be safer than anywhere else. The Queen shuddered when she heard the Temple mentioned, and said to me in an undertone, "You will see, they will put us in the tower, and they will make it a regular prison for us. I always had such a horror of that tower, that I over and over again begged the Count d'Artois to have it pulled down; that must certainly have been a presentiment of all we shall have to suffer there." And when I endeavoured to dispel such an idea, she repeated, "You will see if I am wrong." The event, unfortunately, proved only too clearly how thoroughly so extraordinary a presentiment was justified.

Manuel recounted to the Assembly the barbarous treatment that was to be meted out to the royal family. "The Temple," he said, "will be guarded by twenty men chosen from each section of the city of Paris. To-morrow they will escort the King and his family there with all the respect due to misfortune. The streets along which they will pass will be lined by soldiers of the Revolution, who will make them blush for having thought that there could be among them any slaves to despotism, and their greatest punishment will be to hear the shouts of 'Long live the Nation and Liberty!'" He added, that as the King and Queen had only traitors as friends, all correspondence would be forbidden.

A deputation from this same Commune came to request the report of the decree relative to the creation of a new Directorate of the Department, as the existing one might destroy all that the people had just done; and the Assembly, which had become so dependent on the Commune that it could refuse it nothing, was compelled, though much against its will, to accede to the request, as well as to some additional ones that were made afterwards.

On Monday, the 13th, the King was excused from attending the Assembly, and the morning was spent in making the necessary arrangements for the departure for the Temple. Péthion informed his Majesty that he could only take one person with him to wait upon him, and four women to wait upon the Queen, the two Princesses, and Mgr. the Dauphin. Madame Thibault offered herself for the Queen, Madame Navarre for Madame Elizabeth, and Mesdames Basire and Saint Brice for Mgr. the Dauphin and Madame. The first-mentioned two were the chief waiting-women of the two Princesses, who had in them all the confidence that their devotion and long service merited. The other two displayed similar attachment and genuine devotion. As the Queen was temporarily allowed to have a second attendant, Madame Auguier requested permission to accompany her Majesty, and she even got as far as the Feuillants; but this permission having been speedily revoked, she was obliged, to

her great regret—for she was very much attached to the Queen—to return home.

As MM. de Champlost, chief valets of the King, were not able to accompany him on account of ill-health,[1] M. de Chamilly, also chief valet of the King, offered to replace them, with all the devotion of genuine attachment. Employed on household duties in connection with his Majesty, he found means to add dignity to the humblest offices, to which he was not accustomed, by the manner in which his feelings prompted him to think of everything that he imagined could mitigate the annoyances of all kinds which were experienced by the royal family, and to my daughter and myself he was so obliging that I shall never forget it.

M. Hue, who held the post of chief valet of Mgr. the Dauphin until he should be handed over to masculine care, and who had long known Péthion, made such an earnest request to the latter to be allowed to accompany Mgr. the Dauphin, that he obtained permission not to leave the young Prince. His conduct and his attachment to the royal family were so well known, that I shall not be conveying any news when I couple his name with my feeble praise.

Meunier, who belonged to the commissariat of the King, was entrusted with the kitchen of his Majesty, and he remained in this position until the

[1] I afterwards learnt that one of the two MM. Champlost was killed in the Tuileries on the 10th of August.

departure of Madame for Vienna. Targé also succeeded in obtaining household employment in the Tower, and gave the royal family, even at the risk of his life, proofs of uncommon fidelity and absolute devotion.

The Queen, who never ceased thinking of everything that could mitigate the trouble of those around her, being anxious to give me the consolation of having my daughter Pauline with me, with the greatest kindness offered to ask Péthion to allow her to come. I was petrified by this proposition, as I foresaw only too clearly that we should be left for a long time in the Temple; I shuddered at the idea of exposing my daughter, young and pretty, to the mercy of these fanatics; for I was too well acquainted with the firmness of her character, and the happiness she would experience from being able to ameliorate the cruel position of the royal family by her care, respect, and attachment, to allow myself to calculate the danger she would incur elsewhere. Mgr. the Dauphin and Madame, seeing me give way to a momentary hesitation, threw their arms round my neck, begging me to give them their dear Pauline; Madame added with inexpressible grace,—"Do not refuse us; she will be our consolation, and I will treat her as my sister." It was impossible for me to resist such entreaties, and I commended my daughter to Providence. I expressed my gratitude to the Queen, and my extreme desire to see her obtain for Pauline

the favour to which she would attach so much value. The Queen asked Péthion, and he consented very graciously. He told me to send my son to fetch her and take her to the Committee of the Assembly, who would give her the necessary permission to join their Majesties. Pauline was delighted when she heard the news, and went at once to the Assembly with her brother, who brought her to me. He took advantage of this opportunity to spend a portion of the day with his Majesty, and begged that the favour granted to his sister might be extended to him, but Péthion would not consent, and my son was only allowed to remain with the King until the latter left the Feuillants; in fact, in obedience to an express order, he had to leave his Majesty two hours previously.

His Majesty, who invariably thought of others rather than of himself, said to him, "Monsieur de Tourzel, go away, I beg of you; the nearer we approach the hour of our departure, the more will the fury of the people increase, and you will run the risk of falling a victim to it." And then, seeing that my son could not make up his mind to leave him, he added, "I order you to go, Monsieur de Tourzel, and this is probably the last order you will receive from me." Then giving him a lock of his hair which had just been cut off, he said, "We must hope for happier times, when I shall be glad to have you by my side again." He embraced him, the Queen, the young Prince, Madame, and Madame

[illegible] in the same honour, and he retired very [illegible] with grief.

As my son had never left the King throughout the Revolution, and had always displayed the greatest attachment for him, the King spontaneously said to me, "Do not let your son think of leaving France. I want to have him near me, and if I am [illegible] fortunate enough to be at the head of my troops I will make him one of my aides-de-camp." I was far from ever dreaming of asking such a favour, as I had made it a rule never to ask for anything, or to think of anything but giving his Majesty proofs of the most sincere and disinterested devotion.

My son, when he left the King, was within an ace of being arrested by the mob, who surrounded the Feuillants in expectation of the departure of the King for the Temple; and he owed his safety to some gendarmes, who had formerly belonged to the provost guard of the Hotel, and, recognising him, let him out by a side door, and never left him until he was out of danger. As he could not make up his mind to lose sight of the King, when he got home he disguised himself and mingled with the miscreants who followed the carriage of his Majesty as far as the Temple. When he saw the door shut, as he has told me a thousand times, he experienced a feeling of sorrow beyond the power of words to express.

The King got into one of the large court car-

riages at six o'clock in the evening; the coachman and footmen were dressed in grey, and on this day for the last time may be said to have been in the service of this good and excellent King. He occupied the back seat of the carriage with the Queen, Mgr. the Dauphin, and Madame; Madame Elizabeth, the Princess de Lamballe, and Péthion were on the front seat; Pauline and I on one side, and Manuel on the other with Colonges, a Municipal officer. All these individuals kept their hats on, and behaved in the most revolting manner to their Majesties.

Scarcely had the carriage passed through the gateway of the Feuillants than the band of Federates and the numerous crowd accompanying them, made the air resound with shouts of "Long live the Nation! Long live Liberty!" adding thereto the filthiest and coarsest remarks; and these abominable shouts never ceased for an instant during the journey.

By way of pleasing this unbridled mob, Manuel began by stopping the carriage of the King in the Place Vendôme, so that it was almost beneath the feet of the horse of the statue of Louis XIV., which, with the other statues of our kings, had been overthrown two days previously. Then addressing his Majesty in a tone of extreme insolence, he said, "You see, sire, how the people treats its kings." "May it please God," replied the King, with calmness and dignity, "that its fury may only be vented on inanimate objects."

Amid all these indignities the royal fami
tained a courage and dignity which astonish
those who delighted in overwhelming the
affliction.

The King was two hours and a half in
the Temple by way of the Boulevards. His
escort, not content with making the carriage
at a walk, also brought it to a standstill from
time. Many of them came up to it with th
gleaming with rage; and there were momen
we saw anxiety depicted on the countena
Petion and Manuel. At such times they p
head out of the windows, harangued the m
entreated it, in the name of the law, to a
carriage to proceed.

Dreadful as was the entry into the Templ
royal family, they were driven to desire it, in
hope to put an end a scene as atrocious as it w
longed. They flattered themselves that they w
alone in the rooms they were about to occu
that they would have a momentary breathin
amid so much anguish; but the insults inc
heaped upon them had not yet come to an en

The Temple was in holiday attire; it w
mounted from one end to the other, even to th
holes in the garden walls. The hall was ligh
with innumerable candles, and filled with m
of the infamous Commune, who, with their h
and dressed in the dirtiest and most disgusting
treated the King with revolting insolence and

arity. They asked him a thousand ridiculous questions; and one of them, seated on a sofa, said the most extraordinary things to him about the happiness of equality. "What is your profession?" said the King to him. "Cobbler," he replied. Such was the society of the successor of so many kings. His Majesty and the royal family throughout maintained a most noble bearing, and replied to the questions put to them with an amount of kindliness which would have reduced the questioners to silence had not the intoxication of power rendered them insensible to every feeling.

The poor little Dauphin, overcome with sleep and fatigue, begged to be put to bed. I several times asked to be allowed to take him to his room, but the invariable reply was that it was not ready. I placed him on a couch, where he slept soundly. After a long period of waiting a grand supper was served. Nobody was tempted to touch it; an appearance of eating was gone through, and Mgr. the Dauphin was so fast asleep when he took his soup that I was obliged to take him on my knee, where he began the night. We were still at table when a Municipal officer came to say that his room was ready; he took him up in his arms and hurried him off with such rapidity that Madame de Saint Brice and I had great difficulty in keeping up with him. We were in mortal dread as we saw him go through the subways, and this dread was increased when we saw him take the young Prince to a tower and place him in the room set apart for him.

[redacted]

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

Pauline received from her throughout the time we were permitted to share her residence in this sorrowful abode.

As the Queen's room was the largest, we occupied it during the day, the King also coming down to it early in the morning. Their Majesties had not even the consolation of being alone with their family; a Commissioner of the Commune, who was changed every hour, was always in the room where they were. The royal family conversed so kindly with all of them that they succeeded in making an impression on several.

At meal-times we went down to a room underneath that of the Queen, which we used as a dining-room, and at five o'clock in the evening their Majesties took a walk in the garden, for they dared not let Mgr. the Dauphin go out alone, for fear of giving the Commissioners the idea of taking possession of him. On this subject they several times heard very sinister remarks, which they pretended they did not hear, and the promenade lasted sufficiently long for the two children to get the fresh air so necessary for them, the royal family forgetting themselves in their anxiety for those around them.

By the side of the dining-room there was a library which Truchon, one of the Commissioners of the Commune, pointed out to their Majesties. They took several books out of it for themselves and their children. The King took, among others, the first volume of *Études de la Nature*, by Bernardin de

Saint Pierre, which gave Truchon an opportunity of speaking of the merits of the work. It began by a dedication justly praising the virtues of his Majesty. He could not help letting us see it, and the contrast between his present position and his position when the book was printed, brought many sad reflections to our minds.

This Truchon, a member of the Commune of Paris, was a bad man ; he was accused of bigamy, and condemned. In order to escape recognition, he had allowed his beard to grow, and it was so long that he was called the "man with the long beard." He appeared to have received a good education, judging from his mode of speech and polished expressions in addressing their Majesties, very different from those of his comrades.

We saw the walls of the garden of the Temple rapidly approaching completion. Palloy, who had been appointed architect of the prison, showed the King the plan of the rooms destined for his use in the large tower, as well as those for the royal family. Péthion and Santerre paid them several visits, and were utterly astounded at invariably finding in them that calmness which a good conscience alone can give. Several of the Municipal officers, more humane than the majority of that body, sought to procure a few comforts for their Majesties, but they invariably displayed great caution, for fear of being denounced.

MM. de Chamilly and Hue vied with each other in their care and attention in the service of their

Majesties and the royal family; they never allowed themselves a moment's repose throughout the day. Madame de Saint Brice also behaved very well. Mesdames Navarre and Thibaut day after day justified the confidence reposed in them by the Queen and Madame Elizabeth; and it was a great consolation to the royal family to be surrounded by such faithful servants.

The Queen was the sole object of our thoughts, and Pauline and I gave ourselves up to mitigating the horror of her position by means of our respect and devotion. She was so touched by the slightest attention, and displayed it in so affectionate a manner, that it was impossible to avoid becoming beyond measure attached to her. Mgr. the Dauphin and Madame were charming towards Pauline, showing the tenderest affection for her, and the King and Queen overwhelmed her with kindness. We both of us endeavoured to infuse a ray of hope into their hearts, and we tried to think that so many virtues would appease the celestial anger. But the decree of Providence was pronounced; it willed that France, so culpable, and formerly so proud of its love for its kings, should be punished; it permitted a spirit of infatuation to blind it to the extreme of leading it to the greatest excess.

On Saturday the 18th we perceived some conversation going on among the Municipal officers which caused us considerable uneasiness; and one of them, who dared not speak openly, tried to make

us understand that we were on the eve of being separated from the royal family; but what he said was so far from being intelligible that we could not understand a word of it. We went to bed as usual, and just as I was going to sleep Madame de Saint Brice awoke me, telling me that Madame de Lamballe had been arrested. A moment afterwards, a Municipal officer came to my room to tell us that we must dress at once; that he had received an order to take us to the Commune to undergo an examination, after which we should be brought back again to the Temple. A similar order was conveyed to Pauline in the room of Madame Elizabeth. Situated as we were, there was nothing for it but to obey. We dressed ourselves and repaired to the Queen, into those hands I committed the dear little Prince, who was carried, fast asleep in his bed, into the room. I dared not look at him lest I should lose the courage of which we all stood so much in need, and also because I was anxious to avoid giving our enemies any ground of suspicion, and eager to return, if possible, to a place which we left with so much regret. The Queen went at once to the room occupied by the Princess de Lamballe, from whom she parted with deep sorrow. She showed Pauline and me the most touching sympathy, and said to me in an undertone, "If we are not fortunate enough to see each other again, take great care of Madame de Lamballe; on every essential occasion speak for her, and prevent, as far as possible, her having to reply to

captious and embarrassing questions." Madame was speechless, and very much distressed at our removal. Madame Elizabeth also came and joined the Queen in encouraging us. We embraced these august Princesses for the last time, and tore ourselves away, with death in our hearts, from a place rendered so dear to us by the thought that we had been able to afford some consolation to our unhappy Sovereign.

We passed through the subways by torchlight; three hired carriages awaited us in the courtyard. The Princess de Lamballe, Pauline, and I got into the first; the female attendants of the royal family into the second; and MM. de Chamilly and Hue into the third. There was a Municipal officer in each carriage, which was escorted by gendarmes and surrounded by torches. Our removal from the Temple to the Hôtel de Ville resembled nothing so much as a funeral procession; and in order that nothing should be wanting to increase the impression sought to be made upon us, we were ushered in through that horrible little door used in the case of criminals going to execution. We were shown into a large hall, each one of us between two gendarmes, who would not allow us to look at each other. The first to be examined were MM. Hue and de Chamilly; then Mesdames Thibaut, Navarre, and Saint Brice; and towards three A.M. the Princess de Lamballe was summoned. Her examination did not last long. Mine was longer; and as I went in I was insulted

[illegible] who never left that sad spot. In the evenings by day and night [illegible] each other in [illegible] and there were always some of them in the hall. As I was going in I requested permission to keep my daughter with me during the examination. They replied only that she was in no danger, being under the safeguard of the people. I was placed on a platform in the presence of a crowd of people who filled the hall. There were also galleries full of men and women.

Billaud de Varennes examined us, and a secretary wrote down the questions and answers. As this lasted a long time in my case, and I was very tired, I thought I might sit down on a bench behind me. A great number of voices shouted, "She must remain standing before her Sovereign." But on Billaud de Varennes remarking that a criminal had a right to sit on a stool, I was allowed to sit down. I was asked all sorts of questions as to what the King and Queen did, and whom they saw; I was asked what they thought of all that was going on, and was told to give all the details I could remember of their ordinary life, and of the 10th of August, and what persons were with them during the night preceding that horrible day. My replies were short and precise. "As my position as Governess to the young Prince obliged me not to lose sight of him, and as I passed every night in his room, I was not at all conversant with what transpired elsewhere." I was reminded

that I had taken part in the journey to Varennes, and I was asked how I dared accompany the Prince in that flight. My reply was simple. "I had taken an oath never to leave him, and I could not separate from him; moreover, I was too fond of him to leave him, just as some danger might befall him, or to refrain from seeking to preserve his life, even at the expense of my own, should such a step be necessary." This reply gained me some applause, and I then began to hope that I might return to our unhappy Sovereigns. My replies were considered reasonable, and I was not subjected to either groans or malevolence. Madame de Lamballe, my daughter, and I, were very careful to avoid everything that could offend this mob, who thought ourselves and our answers so simple, that we were on the point of being sent back to the Temple; and even when Manuel talked of sending us to La Force, several voices called out that there was no more room; but Manuel, who had made up his mind, replied in a bantering tone that women always got their way with a people as gallant as the French. And this joke, which had all the success he anticipated for it, determined our imprisonment in La Force.

After our examination we were taken into Tallien's office, hovering between hope and fear. One of the secretaries, moved with pity at our situation, went to see what was going on at the meeting of the Commune, and he gave us some hope of returning to the Temple; but half an hour later, after having

paid another visit to the meeting, he returned without saying a word: then looking at us he said, "No, I cannot bear it any longer." He left the room, and we saw no more of him. We could no longer doubt that our fate was decided; we looked at each other sadly, and the good Princess took my hand as she said, "I hope, at all events, that we shall not be separated." On this occasion, and during the time she was in the Temple and La Force, she displayed courage which never failed her for a moment.[1]

M. Hue was the only one who had permission to return to the Temple; but it was not for long. A

[1] The Princess de Lamballe was subject to nervous attacks which made her very ill. The Queen, fearing that she might have one in the Temple, did everything in her power to persuade her to go home. A slight attack which she had in the reporters' gallery, and which compelled her to leave the Queen during the few hours she spent in the Feuillants, appeared to her Majesty to be a favourable opportunity for renewing her entreaties; but as this particular attack did not continue, she insisted on remaining with the Queen, who seemed to have a presentiment of her destiny. When I spoke to her of the trouble of the Queen in seeing her persist in her resolve, she confessed to me that if the attack had run its ordinary course, she would have been so convinced of the impossibility of enduring imprisonment, that she would have gone to the house of the Duke de Penthièvre as soon as she recovered, and would have left there for England. How sad it was to see her pay for so much devotion by so deplorable an end!

The Duke de Penthièvre, who loved her tenderly, did everything in his power to save her. He sent messengers every hour to get news of her. Day by day he offered the Commune enormous sums. He even went so far as to offer half his fortune. (I have this fact from M. Mars, Sub-Prefect of Dreux, and a member of the Council.) The death of Madame de Lamballe plunged the Duke in the deepest sorrow; that of the King was the culminating stroke. His health gave way day by day; and in a short time he succumbed beneath the weight of such great sorrow, which he was not strong enough to bear.

few days afterwards he was imprisoned again, and only by a species of miracle escaped the massacres of the 2d and 3d of September.

Manuel, who neglected no opportunity of pleasing the sovereign people, wished to give it the pleasure of witnessing our removal to La Force. He had us taken there at noon in three hired carriages escorted by gendarmerie. As it was Sunday, a crowd of sightseers thronged the streets, and we were overwhelmed with insults during our journey from the Hôtel de Ville to La Force. We entered it by the Rue des Ballets, and we remained in the Council Hall while our names were being entered in the register of Madame de Hanère, the porteress of the prison. She was a very good woman, and had with her a daughter who was in every way perfect.

After our names had been entered, Pauline and I were ushered into two separate dungeons in this prison, and the Princess de Lamballe was put into a better room. I did all I could to avoid being separated from my dear Pauline; and when I saw that I was powerless to touch the hardened hearts of our Municipal officers, I reproached them with the utmost vehemence for separating a young girl of her age from her mother, and I gave free vent to the impetuosity of my grief without any attempt to control my expressions.

I entered my dungeon with death at my heart, and in such a state of despair that the gaoler, named François, who was a good man, took pity on me, and

assured me that he would take the greatest care of my daughter, who was confided to his care. The position of this man, and the fact that he was only twenty-five years of age, reassured me to a certain extent. The idea of all that my poor Pauline might have to endure threw me into a state of extreme agitation, which was followed by excessive prostration. Dinner was brought to me, but it was impossible for me to swallow anything, and I was, moreover, suffering from everything imaginable. The poor gaoler, distressed to see me in so violent a state, confided to me that my daughter was over my head, and that he had given her a little poodle to console her. The attention shown me by this man touched me, and I began to hope that Providence would come to our assistance. I knelt down and implored the mercy of God for her and myself, and I prayed Him to give the poor child the courage that I lacked. She was first of all put in a dungeon so low that she could not stand upright in it; but as several squares of glass were broken in it, it was changed, and she had another allotted to her which was not quite so bad as the first.

M. Hardi, for that is the name of him to whom Pauline and I owe the preservation of our lives, seeing my despair, went to Manuel and pointed out to him that it was useless barbarity to separate mother and child, and induced him to consent to our being together again. I was far from hoping any such thing, and I was quite astonished to hear

my door opened at seven o'clock in the evening, and to see Manuel and Pauline come into my room. Never in all my life have I experienced such intense satisfaction. We threw ourselves into each other's arms, unable to say a word, and with such deep feeling that Manuel was moved by it. We then expressed our gratitude to him with so much earnestness that he was moved to tears, and he offered also to bring Madame de Lamballe to me. Although naturally we should have gone to her, I made no objection, for fear of lessening his good will, and I therefore expressed the greatest desire that he would bring her. He went to fetch her at once, and brought her to my room. We thanked him heartily; and the good Princess, unwilling to leave us, asked permission to occupy a second bed which was in my cell. Pauline, who perceived how much she disliked spending the night alone in this prison, offered to return to her cell, and Manuel suggested establishing us all three on the following day in the room first of all allotted to the Princess, as it was more healthy and commodious than mine. It might easily be so, seeing that mine was a veritable dungeon, devoid of fresh air, three squares of glass serving as its only window, and so excessively damp that I caught cold from having slept in it for one night.

On the following morning, at eight o'clock, Manuel came in person to take us to the room occupied by Madame de Lamballe, where we were all three together. We were permitted to send for all

we wanted from home. As Pauline and I had saved nothing from the Tuileries, and only possessed what was in our little box, we did not abuse this permission, and we hired just what was absolutely necessary and we could not do without.

Our little box was sent back to us on the following day, and the Queen, wishing to show us that she had been very mindful of us, sent word to say that she had packed our box herself; and as she never forgot anything that would be of use to those who were attached to her, she sent me half her English flannel, adding that she would have given me all of it if she had not been afraid that it would be difficult to get it back again in case she needed it. What goodness, in a position such as hers! I was deeply touched by it, and greatly distressed at not being able to express to her all that my heart felt at that moment.

We tried to render our situation less painful in our sad abode by dividing our time in various occupations, such as the care of our rooms, work, and reading. Our thoughts ever turned towards the Temple, and now and then we indulged in the hope that the foreign invaders would get the upper hand of our persecutors; that the latter would take the King as mediator; and that we should emerge safe and sound from prison to find ourselves once more by the side of the royal family. The Princess de Lamballe bore her sad lot perfectly. Sweet, good, and obliging, she showed us every little attention in

her power. Pauline and I were taken up with her incessantly, and we had amid our misfortunes at least the consolation of knowing that we had but one heart and one mind. The good Princess wished to be spoken to frankly, and when I told her that after conduct so honourable as hers she ought not to allow herself to indulge in childishness, which did her injustice, but ought to commence a new life, she answered me sweetly that she had already made up her mind to do so, as well as to return to her religious principles, which she had somewhat neglected. She conceived a great friendship for Pauline, and said the kindest things to us every day of the happiness she experienced by having us with her. It was impossible to help being sincerely attached to her, and we were consequently overwhelmed with sorrow when we heard of the cruel end of this poor, unhappy Princess.

We received one more visit from Manuel during our stay in La Force. We asked him for news of the King and his family. "You know that I am not fond of kings," was his first reply; but when we told him quietly that he could not but think it natural that we should love ours, and that we were continually thinking of all the royal family, he assured us that they were all well, and at the same time he gave the Princess de Lamballe a letter from the Duke de Penthièvre. He also spontaneously gave us permission to write a few unsealed notes and to receive letters addressed to us. I made use of this

permission to send news of ourselves to the good Marchioness de Lède, whose great age removed her from all suspicion; for in our frightful position I should have been very sorry to have imparted any knowledge about any one of our relations and friends. Manuel also told François, our gaoler, that he might allow us in the evening to walk in the courtyard of La Force: we did so at eight o'clock that very evening, and our walks, though mournful, were some distraction.

One evening when we were in this courtyard we witnessed the arrival of Madame de Septeuil, the wife of the chief footman of the King. We rushed to her to ascertain what was going on, for from the date of our having been taken to the Temple we had been in complete ignorance in regard to what interested us so deeply. What was our astonishment to find an insignificant woman occupied entirely with herself, and so absolutely indifferent to everything else that we could not learn anything from her about what we wanted to know! She wished to be put in our room; but Madame de Lamballe begged François to leave us alone by ourselves, and she was housed elsewhere.

We were one day very much astonished to see an unknown man walk into our room, who came, so he said, to give us news of Madame de Tarente, who was in the Abbaye, and had begged him to bring her news of us. He spoke much about her and her great courage to us, and seemed to be seeking to create a

good impression upon us. He gave us to understand that he was M. du Verrier, who had been entrusted with various missions. We replied prudently to all his questions, as we could not believe that any but spies would be allowed to enter our sad abode. He told us that he would come and see us again, but we saw no more of him.

We had also a visit from that villain Colonges who was in the carriage with the King when his Majesty was taken to the Temple. He brought a parcel of coarse shirts, which he handed to Madame de Lamballe; and looking at us with an air of irony, he said, "It is the custom, ladies, to work in prison; I bring you some shirts to make for our brothers in arms. You are surely too good patriots not to work on them with pleasure." "Nothing that can be useful to our fellow-countrymen," sweetly replied Madame de Lamballe, "shall be rejected by us." François, who saw that this was only by way of mockery, took the shirts away, and we heard no more of this wretch, who died a few years afterwards in a fit of uncontrollable anger. This François was an excellent man, who told us more than once that he would save us if any movement took place in Paris. His will was good, but unfortuately he had not the means in his power of fulfilling his promise.

Our stay in La Force was frightful; the whole place was filled with male and female miscreants who entertained the most abominable designs, and sang detestable songs; the coarsest ears would have

been wounded by all that was heard there incessantly, day and night; and it was difficult to snatch a moment's repose. The poor Princess de Lamballe bore this cruel life with admirable courage and patience; and by an extraordinary chance her health became stronger in this sad abode. She had no more nervous attacks, and she agreed that she had not been so well for a long time.

We had been in La Force a fortnight, when, on Sunday, the 2d of September, François came into our room with a disturbed air, saying, "You must not think of leaving your room to-day; the foreigners are advancing, and there is much anxiety in Paris;" and, contrary to his wont, he appeared no more that day. We indulged in a thousand conjectures in reference to what he had told us, and our minds hovered between anxiety and hope. We commended ourselves to God, and after saying our prayers, we went to bed.

We had but just gone to sleep when we heard our door unlocked, and we saw a man, well dressed and with a somewhat gentle face, who went to Pauline's bedside and said to her, "Mademoiselle de Tourzelle, dress yourself quickly and follow me." "What are you going to do with my daughter?" I asked anxiously. "That does not concern you, madame; let her get up and come with me." "Obey, Pauline, and may heaven protect you!"

I was so moved and so distressed at seeing my daughter thus taken away from me, that I remained

motionless and unable to stir. The man continued standing in the corner of the room, saying, "Make haste." The good Princess de Lamballe then got up, and, notwithstanding her great distress, assisted Pauline to dress. Poor Pauline came to my bedside and took my hand. The man, seeing that she was dressed, took her by the arm and led her to the door. "God help and protect you, dear Pauline!" I exclaimed again, as I heard the bolt shot once more; and I remained in a state of immobility, without being able to think of, or even articulate a single word in reply to all the good Princess said to me for the purpose of rousing my confidence and calming my grief. When I recovered from this first seizure I got up; I threw myself on my knees; I implored the goodness of God for my dear Pauline; I prayed Him to give us both the patience and resignation we needed so sorely; and I rose with somewhat more strength. I then thanked the Princess de Lamballe for all her goodness to me and my daughter. Nobody could have behaved more perfectly, or could have showed more sympathy and courage than she did during this sad night. She took possession of Pauline's pockets, burnt all the papers and letters she found in them, so that there might be nothing to compromise her, and she was on the watch to listen if she could hear anything that might give us some knowledge of her fate. She then went to bed again, reproaching me, but in the kindest possible manner, for allowing weakness to take the

place of the courage she had always recognised in me. I could only say in reply, "Ah! dear Princess, you are not a mother!" I begged her to take some rest, and she slept a tranquil sleep for some hours. I threw myself on my bed, fully dressed, in a most violent state. Pauline occupied my every thought; I could neither read nor do anything else but repeat, "My God! have pity on my poor Pauline, and give us grace to resign ourselves to Thy holy will!"

At six o'clock in the morning we saw François enter with a disturbed air, and without replying to any of our questions, he said, "They are going to pay a visit here." Six men then entered, armed with guns, swords, and pistols, and coming to our bedsides, they asked our names, and then went out again. As they came in without uttering a single word, I noticed that the last of them, looking at me, raised his eyes and hands to heaven, which boded no good. The poor Princess fortunately did not see this; but the visit gave us so much food for thought that I could not help saying to her, "To-day, dear Princess, has dawned in a very stormy manner; we do not know what Heaven has in store for us; we must reconcile ourselves to God and ask His pardon for all our faults; in this emergency let us repeat the *Miserere*, the *Confiteor*, and an Act of Contrition, and let us commend ourselves to His goodness." I said these prayers out loud, and she repeated them after me; to them we added those we usually said every morning, and we thus mutually roused each other's courage.

There was a window looking on to the street, from which, although it was very high, we could see what was going on by getting up on Madame de Lamballe's bed, and thence on to the window sill. She got up there, and as soon as the people in the street saw somebody looking out of the window, they made as if they would pull her out. She saw a considerable crowd at the gate of the prison, which was not at all reassuring. We shut that window and opened the one on the side of the courtyard. The prisoners, who were in a state of consternation, seemed stupefied, and profound silence, the precursor of death, succeeded to the continual noise which was so distressing to us. We impatiently awaited François; he did not come, and though we had eaten nothing since our dinner on the previous evening, we were too much agitated and preoccupied to think of breakfast. I then suggested to the poor Princess that we should resume our work, in order to divert our sad thoughts to a certain degree. We worked sorrowfully side by side, awaiting the issue of that fatal day, and ever thinking of my poor Pauline.

About eleven o'clock in the morning our door opened, and our room was filled with armed men, who demanded the Princess de Lamballe. They did not mention me at first; but I would not abandon her, and I followed her. They made me sit down on one of the steps of the staircase, while they went to fetch all the women who were in the prison. The

Princess de Lamballe, feeling weak, asked for a little bread and wine; they were brought to her; we both of us took some, for, under such circumstances, an over weak physique necessarily acts on the moral nature. When we were all assembled together, we were made to go down to the courtyard, where we found Mesdames Thibaut, Navarre, and Basire. I was very much astonished to find Madame de Mackau there, as I had been told that she had been removed on the previous evening to Vitry, for the purpose of being lodged in that frightful prison.

In the clerks' office a court had been established for the trial of prisoners; each one was escorted there by two assassins belonging to the prison, who took them under their protection to massacre them or save them according to the judgment pronounced against them. In the courtyard, where we were all assembled, there was a great crowd of these men of blood; they were badly clothed, half drunk, and they looked at us with a barbarous and ferocious air. There were, nevertheless, among them some honest men who were only there in the hope of being of some use to the prisoners should any opportunity present itself; and two of these rendered me great service during this fatal day.

I never left the poor Princess de Lamballe for a moment during the time she was in the courtyard. We were seated side by side when they came to take her to this awful tribunal. We clasped each other's hands for the last time, and I can state

positively that she displayed much courage and presence of mind, replying without hesitation to all the questions put by the monsters who joined us for the sole purpose of contemplating their victims before leading them to death; and I have positive information that she displayed similar courage during the examination which preceded her sad end.

There was no disguising the danger we were all running; but the peril which I believed was surrounding Pauline absorbed all idea of any that confronted me. I saw the man who had so harshly taken away my daughter; the sight of him inspired me with horror, and I was seeking how to avoid him, when, passing close to me, he said in an undertone, "Your daughter is saved," and he went away from me at once. I saw clearly that he did not wish to be recognised, and I hid within my heart all expression of my gratitude, hoping that if God granted me my life it would not be always so concealed.

The certainty that Pauline was saved made me happy amid so many dangers. I felt my courage revive, and, reassured as to the fate of that dear part of myself, it seemed to me that I had nothing to fear for the rest. The remarks that we heard around us, however, did not allow us to conceal from ourselves the dangers that we incurred; but the fact that my daughter was saved enabled me to bear this with resignation. Under the impression that great presence of mind was the only means of

extricating myself, I thought of nothing but it. I fortunately was calm enough to hope that I might preserve this to the last, as well as the tranquillity, in whatever situation I might be placed, which was necessary to enable me to say nothing but what was judicious, and from which no inferences could be drawn which might be disastrous to myself or to those who were dearer to me than myself. Innumerable questions were put to us about the royal family; for great care had been taken to impart to these murderers the worst possible impressions in regard to each of the members of it. We endeavoured to change their opinion by relating to them instances of kindness which we ourselves had witnessed, and Madame de Mackau behaved especially well on this occasion. We heard with great pleasure that she was claimed by the Commune of Vitry, and that the Mayor had come in person to fetch her, and had succeeded in taking her away with him. The liberation of Mesdames Thibaut, Navarre, and Basire was also a source of deep satisfaction to me; but as I heard no mention made of the Princess de Lamballe, I had only too much reason to believe that my fears, induced by this silence, had been realised.

I began to question the people around me. They replied and questioned me in their turn. They asked me my name; I told them. They then confessed that they knew me well; that I had not a very bad reputation, but that I had accompanied the King when he wanted to flee from the kingdom; that such

an action was unpardonable; that they could not understand how I had brought myself to it; and that it would be the cause of my death. I replied that I did not feel the least remorse, because I had only done my duty. I denied that the King had ever entertained the idea of leaving the kingdom, and I asked them whether they thought that one ought to be faithful to one's oath. They all replied with unanimity that one ought to die rather than fail in it. "Quite so," I replied; "I thought as you do, and now you blame me. I was governess to Mgr. the Dauphin; I had sworn to the King never to leave him, and I accompanied him on this journey as I should have accompanied him anywhere and everywhere else, whatever might befall me." "She could not have acted otherwise," they said. "It is very unfortunate," said some of them, "to be attached to people who commit evil actions." I spoke for a long time to them. They appeared struck with whatever was good and reasonable, and I could not realise that these men, who did not seem to be innately bad, would in cold blood commit a crime which an outburst of vengeance would scarcely justify.

During this conversation one of these men, worse than the rest, having noticed a ring on my finger, asked me what the inscription on it was. I handed it to him; but one of his comrades, who appeared to be interested in me, and evidently feared that some royalistic symbol would be discovered, said to me, "Read it yourself." I then read, "*Domine, salvum*

fac Regem, Delphinum, et sororem"—"O Lord, preserve the King, the Dauphin, and his sister." Those around me displayed great indignation. "Throw the ring down," they exclaimed, "and trample it under foot!" "That is impossible," I said to them. "If the sight of it makes you angry, all I can do is to put it in my pocket. I am tenderly attached to Mgr. the Dauphin and Madame, who are both charming children. For several years the former has been under my particular care, and I love him as my own child. I cannot be false to the feeling in my very heart, and you would despise me, I am sure, were I to do what you propose." "Do as you like," said some of them. And I put the ring in my pocket.

Several men, as ill-looking as those around me, came from the other end of the courtyard to ask me to go to the assistance of a young woman who had been taken ill. I went, and recognised Madame de Septeuil, who had fainted. Those who were attending to her were vainly endeavouring to bring her to; she was suffocating, and I began by unlacing her. One of the men, to save time, wanted to cut the laces with his sword. I shuddered at this mode of rendering her assistance, but I shuddered still more when I heard them say among themselves, "What a pity she is married. She might have saved herself by marrying one of us." How I thanked God that Pauline was not with me then! While I was doing my best to restore Madame de Septeuil to consciousness, one of the bystanders caught sight of a medallion

round her neck, on which was the portrait of her husband, and thinking that it was a likeness of the King, he came close to me, and said in an undertone, "Hide it in your pocket, for if they find it here, it might go against her." I could not help laughing at the thoughtfulness of this man, who urged me to become the possessor of a thing which appeared to him to be such a dangerous thing to have about one, and I was more and more astonished by the mixture of pity and ferocity which was noticeable in these men. When Madame de Septeuil had recovered from her fainting fit, these same men consoled her, encouraged her, and, moved with compassion, they took her out of the courtyard and conveyed her home.

During this time M. Hardi, my liberator, did not forget me, but was doing his best to keep his promise to Pauline, to use every means in his power to rescue me. In order to dispel from the minds of the people all idea of any connection between me and the unfortunate Princess de Lamballe, he contrived to send to the tribunal, before me, a large number of malefactors who were to be tried by it, and all those who were convicted were massacred without mercy. One passed by me who made a frightful impression upon me. His terror was so great, that death was already written on his face; with sobs he implored the mercy of his conductors. At that moment I was surrounded by men of ferocious mien, who made no secret of the fate in store for me. M. Hardi, who felt that I was lost if these men took me to the tribunal, conceived

the idea of making them drunk. He succeeded in doing this with the assistance of a man named Labre, a gendarme, and an excellent little man named Gremet, who had come to the assistance of Mdlle. de Hanère, daughter of the porteress of La Force. He begged him, when he had placed her in safety, to do his best to save me, and as a matter of fact he never left me until he had taken me home. The wretches who were made drunk, unable to stand upright, were obliged to lie down, and the others who remained behind became sensibly milder, especially two among them who were always by my side.

Several men of the National Guard began to show some interest in me, and said to me, "You always treated us very well at the Tuileries, and you were very different from the Princess de Tarente, who was so haughty towards us; you will have your reward." This remark made me tremble for her, and I endeavoured to dispel their idea by telling them that, in spite of outward appearances, she was goodness itself, and that she would have been the first to oblige them had they been in a position to have recourse to her. When the National Guard saw me ready to go before the tribunal they wanted to offer me an arm, but those about me opposed this, saying, "We have been by her side ever since she has been in the greatest danger, and we will not leave her now that she is on the eve of being saved." They endeavoured to inspire me with confidence, and this feeling increased within me when I saw M. Hardi,

for it was evident to me that he was only present for the purpose of protecting me.

After having spent in this courtyard four mortal hours, which might well be called hours of agony, I presented myself before the tribunal with a calm and tranquil air. I remained there about ten minutes, during which time I was asked various questions as to what had transpired in the Tuileries. I replied simply; and just as they were going to set me at liberty one of the monsters, who only breathed carnage, interposed with the question, "You took part in the journey to Varennes?" "We are only here," said the President, "to try the offences committed on the 10th of August." I then spoke, and said to the man "What do you wish to know? I will answer you." Ashamed of the small effect produced by his question, he held his tongue, and the President, seeing that the moment was favourable to me, hastened to put to the vote the question of my liberation or my death, and the shout of "*Vive la Nation!*" which I knew represented a verdict of not guilty, told me that I was saved. I was conducted to the door of the prison, and just as I was passing through the little gate these very men, who had been ready to massacre me, threw themselves upon me to embrace me and congratulate me on having escaped the impending danger. It made me shudder, but I was obliged to comply. I experienced a far greater thrill of horror when, on emerging from the Rue des Ballets into the Rue Saint Antoine, I saw,

as it were, a mountain of the remains of the bodies of those who had been massacred, mingled with clothes torn and covered with mud, and surrounded by a furious mob who wanted me to get on this hideous heap to shout "*Vive la Nation!*" At this spectacle my strength gave way, and I fainted. My conductors shouted for me, and I did not regain my consciousness until I got into a hired carriage, from which a man was ejected who, frightened by what he saw, was in no hurry to get out. This carriage was surrounded by the same men who were by my side in the courtyard of La Force. Three of these men got inside with me, two others sat at each door, and another by the side of the driver. Throughout my journey they showed me every imaginable attention, recommending the driver to avoid the streets where anything terrifying might be encountered, and they asked me where I wanted to go. I asked to be taken to the house of the good Marchioness de Lède, who received me with the tenderness of a mother, and who, in the excess of her joy, wanted to give a handsome reward to those who had brought me to her. Although their exteriors gave the idea of anything rather than opulence, we could not persuade them to accept anything.

During the drive I noticed with astonishment the extreme desire they displayed to see me in a place of safety. They urged the coachman to drive more quickly, and each one seemed personally interested in my preservation. I forgot to say that

those who refused the money I wanted to give them told me that they were anxious to save me because I was innocent of the crimes imputed to me; that they thought themselves fortunate in having succeeded, and that they did not wish to take anything, because it was not right to be paid for being just. All I could obtain from them was their names, as I hoped one day to be able to reward them for the services they had rendered me.

A young Marseillais, who appeared to be deeply interested in my fate, returned on the following day to see how I was, and to urge me to leave Paris, where I should not be safe if the Allies advanced. I made a fresh effort to induce them to accept some mark of gratitude, and I never heard a word about it afterwards. I was enabled to be of use to two of them; the other two are probably dead, for they never came back to me.

Words fail me to express my gratitude for all that Madame de Lède did for us in our cruel position. She behaved to us as the tenderest of mothers would have done, overwhelming us with every sort of devoted and touching care. I had always loved her tenderly; I had tended her as best I could, and she proved to me that she was not insensible to my care. Her great age and weakness had in no way impaired the delicacy of the feelings. Always good, sweet, and amiable, I felt when near her the only consolation of which my heart was susceptible; but, alas! it was not of long duration.

I had scarcely been an hour in her house when I was told that a man wished to speak to me. It was M. Hardi who told me that my dear Pauline was well, but he added that he would not tell me where she was, lest my eagerness to see her might be injurious to her; but that later on, if he should deem it prudent, he would give me her address, so that I might send for her. I wished to express my gratitude to him. "Do not mention that," he said; "you would distress me." I asked him at least to give me his address: he declined, and disappeared. He returned two hours later to bring me the name of the street where Babet des Hayes, with whom Pauline had taken refuge, resided. The Countess de Charry, the daughter of Madame de Lupé, succeeded in finding her, and before seven o'clock Pauline was in my arms! The emotion with which we embraced each other, and our mutual feelings in this first interview, may well be imagined. I could not bear such a succession of shocks, and I fell into a state of extreme despondency. The good Madame de Lède wanted me to take some nourishment; but my throat seemed to be closed so tightly that I could not swallow. I was put to bed, and fell asleep through sheer excess of weariness.

I had scarcely been in bed an hour when the man Truchon, whom I have already mentioned, came to ask us to give him a few words in writing to the effect that we would produce Pauline to him if he should ask for her. Pauline, not wishing to

write anything without my knowledge, came into my room. I awoke in horror, naturally expecting to hear the sound of one of those sinister voices to which my ears were only too well accustomed. I gave him an insignificant word or two, which I signed; it was all he wanted, and I never heard any more of him. I always thought that he intended making use of this note if circumstances should turn in our favour, and M. Hardi had no doubt about it. When he left the house he told the servants that Pauline must not leave the house without his knowledge, words which they carefully treasured up, for they were all great patriots, and had every consideration for a member of the Commune.

Pauline and I were overwhelmed with marks of friendship from good Madame de Lède. I was making myself happy in taking care of her, and in sharing with her whatever danger she was in, when M. Hardi appeared to urge me to leave Paris, where we were not safe. "No," I said to him, "I will not leave Madame de Lède, whom I look upon as a mother, in the state of weakness to which she has been reduced by events far too violent for her at her age; I will live or die with her." "It is all very well for you," he said, "because you run no risk, seeing that you have been tried and acquitted. But it is not the same with Mdlle. Pauline, who was carried off from prison; and might be recaptured and taken there again." And he repeated that he very seriously advised me to get away from Paris as quickly

as possible, and in such a manner that nobody might discover my place of retreat, adding that he would return on the following day to learn my determination.

I was in despair at being obliged to leave Madame de Lède just at a time when I could be of such use to her, and I was at a loss how to tell her that I found it impossible to remain any longer in her house. She divined what I was going to say almost before I opened my mouth; and ever thinking of those she loved rather than of herself, she was the first to urge me to hasten my departure. M. Hardi came to see me again on the following day, and I begged him to choose a place for me where I could live unknown and in safety. He hired two rooms in Vincennes, and told me that I could, without compromising myself, take with me my daughter's old nurse, and my maid as cook, if she would adopt a fitting costume, and that he would come and take us there on the following day. I spoke of what I had undertaken in regard to Truchon; he made light of that, and confided to us that Truchon was held in such scant consideration that he was on the eve of being compelled to leave the Commune; and he reassured the servants of Madame de Lède in regard to the anxiety they felt owing to the departure of Pauline. With death in my soul I embraced my good and excellent relative. A secret presentiment warned me that I should not see her again; and I was not mistaken. A month afterwards I had the sorrow of hearing that she was no more.

We left Paris on the 7th of September about four o'clock in the afternoon, and we drove to a *café* where M. Hardi was to meet us. We dismissed our carriage, and took another a little farther on, to Vincennes. It was high time, for the people were beginning to post sentries on the barriers of this *route*. The tact displayed by M. Hardi succeeded in surmounting every obstacle, and we arrived safely at Vincennes.

He advised us not to go out or to show ourselves at the window until the people in the house recognised us as quiet and orderly people. He told us that he would come and see us every now and then, and that as he should know all that was going on, he would take us farther away if there should be any danger in our remaining so near Paris. He promised to bring me my agent, who alone knew of our retreat. This was a great comfort to me. He was very much attached to me, and gave us proofs of entire devotion in all the dangers that we ran.

The precautions we took during the course of our sojourn at Versailles were gradually relaxed. We walked every day along the little paths in the Bois de Vincennes, and we even went once to Paris to see one of my sisters, a nun, for whom good Madame de Lède had hired a small suite of rooms when she was compelled to leave her convent. We saw nobody else, and we spent four months at Vincennes in complete solitude, but plunged in the

most profound grief. All our thoughts wended th way to the Temple, and we would not even think leaving France so long as it held beings so d to us, and of whom we could not make up minds to lose sight.

I have made no mention of the dangers countered by Pauline after the departure of King, any more than of those which she ran the 3d of September, when she was saved fr the massacre of La Force. I have thought tha would be more interesting to let her narrate th herself, and I have consequently interpolated these Memoirs a letter which she wrote to her sis the Countess de Sainte Aldegonde, two days a her escape from the frightful prison of La Force.

Copy of a Letter

Written by Mdlle. Pauline de Tourzel, now Countess de Béarn, to the Countess de Sainte Aldegonde, her sister, in which she relates her escape from the Tuileries and the Prison of La Force on the occasion of the massacres of the 2d and 3d of September. The letter is dated the 8th of September 1792.

I only had time to tell you, dear Josephine, that my mother and I were away from Paris; but now I want to let you know how we escaped from the most frightful dangers. Certain death was the least of them, as the fear of the horrible circumstances by which it might be accompanied added still more to my terror.

I will resume my account from a more distant date, from the moment, in fact, when the prison put an end to our correspondence. You know that, on the 10th of August, my mother accompanied the royal family to the Assembly. Left alone in the Tuileries, in the King's apartments, I attached myself to the good Princess de Tarente, to whose care my mother had recommended me; and we promised each other that whatever might happen we would not separate.

A bombardment of the Castle commenced shortly after the departure of the King. We heard the shot

which past in a frightful way. The noise of breaking glass and windows was awful. To under shelter and away from the side where bombardment was going on, we retired into apartments of the Queen on the ground floor. Th the idea occurred to us of shutting the shutters a lighting all the candles in the lustres and candelal hoping that if the brigands forced the door, tl astonishment at the sight of so many lights wo save us from a sudden onset and would give us t to parley.

Scarcely had we made this arrangement when heard fearful shouts in the next room, and the ra of arms told us only too plainly that the Castle forced and we should have need of all our cour It was the affair of a moment; the doors were b open, and men, with swords in their hands and t eyes starting out of their heads, rushed into room. They halted for a moment, astonished what they saw, and at only finding a dozen wo in the room (several ladies of the Queen, Mad Elisabeth, and Madame de Lamballe had joined The lights, reflected in the mirrors, contrasting v the daylight, had such an effect on these brigands t they remained stupefied. Several ladies were c pletely upset, among others Madame de Genest who lost her head so completely that she fell on knees and begged for pardon. We made her get, and while I reassured her, that good Mad de Lamballe begged a young Marseillais to have pity

her weakness of head, and take her under his protection. The man consented, and took her out of the room at once; then, returning to her who had pleaded for another, and evidently struck by the display of such courage under such circumstances, he said to her, "I will save that lady, and you too, and your companion." As a matter of fact he placed Madame de Genestoux in the care of one of his comrades, and offering Madame de Lamballe and me each an arm, he took us out of the room. As we left we were obliged to pass over the bodies of Diert, an attendant on the Queen, and Pierre, one of her footmen, who would not leave their mistress's room, and had fallen victims to their attachment. This sight cut us to the quick, and Madame de Tarente and I looked at each other, thinking that we might, perhaps, speedily meet with the same fate. After a great deal of trouble the man succeeded in getting us out of the Castle by a small door near the subways. We found ourselves on the terrace, and then at the gate of the Pont Royal. There our man left us, having, he said, kept his promise to take us safely out of the Tuileries.

I then took the arm of Madame de Tarente, who was anxious to go home by way of the banks of the river, thinking that so we might escape the eyes of the multitude. We were walking quietly on, without saying a word, when we heard frightful shouts behind us; and when we turned round we saw a crowd of brigands rushing on us sword in hand.

Others at the same time appeared in front of us, the quay and over the parapet. These latter ain at us, shouting that we had escaped from the T cries. For the first time in my life I felt afr This manner of being massacred appeared fright to me. Madame de Tarente spoke to the crowd, succeeded in arranging that we should be taken un escort to the District.

We had to cross the whole of the Place L XV. in the midst of the dead and dying, for m of the Suisses and unhappy gentlemen had been m sacred there.[1] We were followed by an immense m who overwhelmed us with insults as they escorte to the District of the Rue Neuve des Capucines.

We introduced ourselves to the President of District. He was an honest man, who quickly all the discomfort and danger of the situatio which we were placed. He gave a receipt for persons, said in a loud voice that we should be in prison, and by means of this assurance succee in getting rid of those who had brought us th When he was alone with us he assured us of interest, and promised us that at dusk he would h us taken home. And accordingly, at half-past ei in the evening, he gave us two trustworthy pers to escort us through the back door, so as to esc the assassins who were surrounding the house. at last reached the house of the Duchess de la Valli grandmother of Madame de Tarente, with whom

[1] See note at the end of the letter.

was staying. I asked this good Princess to let me stay with her all night, and I slept on a sofa in her room.

On Monday the 13th, at eight A.M., while we were talking together over all that had happened to us, we heard a knock at the door. It was my brother, who, having spent two nights with the King at the Feuillants, came to give us news of him, and to tell me that the Queen had asked my mother to allow me to rejoin her; that the King had made this request to Péthion, who had acceded to it, and that within an hour he would come to take me to the Feuillants. This news gave me great pleasure. I was happy at finding myself again with my mother, and at uniting my lot to hers and that of the royal family.

I reached the Feuillants at nine o'clock. I cannot describe the kindness with which I was received by the King and Queen. They asked me a thousand questions about those people of whom I could give them news. Mgr. the Dauphin and Madame kissed me, displaying the most touching friendship for me, and telling me that we should never part any more.

Half-an-hour before I left the Feuillants, Madame Elizabeth called me, and taking me with her into a private room, said to me, "Dear Pauline, we know your discretion and your attachment to us. I have a letter of the utmost importance, of which I wish to destroy all trace before I leave here; help me to

get rid of it." We took the letter, which was eight pages long, and we tore a few pieces off it, which we endeavoured to rub away between our fingers and under our feet; but as this method was a very lengthy one, and we were afraid lest an over long absence might give rise to suspicion, I took a page of the letter, put it in my mouth, and swallowed it. Madame Elizabeth wanted to do likewise, but she could not swallow it. I saw this, and asking her for the last two pages of the letter, I swallowed them, so that not a single trace remained. We returned to the room, and the moment of departure having arrived, the royal family got into a carriage in the following order:—

The King, the Queen, Mgr. the Dauphin, and Madame took their seats at the back; Madame Elizabeth, Péthion, and Manuel in front; the Princess de Lamballe on a side seat with my mother; and I with Colonges, a Municipal officer, opposite them. The carriage went at a walk. We first of all crossed the Place Vendôme, where the carriage halted, and Manuel, calling the attention of the King to the statue of Louis XIV., which had just been overturned, had the insolence to add, "You see how the people treat kings." The King turned red with indignation; but recovering himself in a moment, he replied with angelic calmness, "It is fortunate, sir, that their anger is confined to inanimate objects." The most profound silence followed this remark, and lasted throughout the drive.

We went by way of the Boulevards, and evening was coming on as we reached the Temple.

The courtyard, building, and garden were lighted up, and this gala appearance contrasted terribly with the position of the royal family. The King, the Queen, and we went into a very handsome room, where we remained for more than an hour without being able to obtain any reply to the inquiries that were made as to where our apartments were. Supper was then served, and we were obliged to sit down to it, although no one had any inclination to eat. Mgr. the Dauphin was half asleep, and asked to be put to bed; my mother was very urgent in her endeavours to find out the room set apart for him. At last we were informed that he was to be taken to it.

Torches were lighted, we crossed the courtyard, went through a subway, and at last arrived at the Tour du Temple, which we entered through a little door, very much like the wicket gate of a prison.

The Queen and Madame were accommodated in one room, which was separated from that of Mgr. the Dauphin by a small ante-room, where Madame de Lamballe slept. The King was lodged on the second floor, and Madame Elizabeth, for whom there was no proper room, in a frightfully dirty kitchen near the King. This good Princess told my mother that she would take care of me, and she actually had a stretcher placed for me beside her own. The room next to the kitchen was a guard-room. You may

imagine the noise that was made there; so we passed the night without being able to get a moment's sleep.

On the following day, at eight A.M., we went down to the Queen, who was already up, and whose room we were to use as a sitting-room. We spent the whole of every day there, only going up to the second floor to sleep. We were never alone in this room; a Municipal officer was always present, and was changed every hour.

All our effects had been stolen from our rooms in the Tuileries, and my only dress was the one I was wearing when I left the Castle. Madame Elizabeth, to whom some had been sent, gave me one of hers. As our figures differed, we occupied ourselves in undoing it for the purpose of remaking it. Every day the Queen, Madame, and Madame Elizabeth were good enough to work at it, but we could not finish it before we left them.

About midnight on the 19th of August we heard a knock at the door of our room, and we were informed that the Commune had ordered the removal from the Temple of the Princess de Lamballe, my mother, and me. Madame Elizabeth got up at once, helped me to dress, and took me to the Queen. We found everybody astir, and the bed of Mgr. the Dauphin already removed into the room occupied by the Queen. Our separation from the royal family was cruel; and although we were assured that we should return after having been examined, a secret

instinct told us that we were leaving them at all events for a long time.

We passed through the subways by torchlight, and got into a hired carriage at the door of the Temple. We were first of all taken to the Hôtel de Ville, and shown into a large hall, where we were separated one from the other by a Municipal guard so that we might not converse. At three A.M. the Princess de Lamballe was summoned to undergo an examination. It lasted for about a quarter of an hour, after which my mother was sent for. I wanted to go with her, but this was not allowed, and I was told that my turn would come. In the examination hall, which was open to the public, my mother requested that I might be brought to her. But she met with a very curt refusal, being informed that I was in no danger, seeing that I was under the safeguard of the people.

At last they sent for me, and I was taken into the examination hall. There, standing on a platform, I found myself in the presence of an immense crowd of people who filled the hall; there were also galleries full of men and women. Billaud de Varennes questioned us, and a secretary wrote our replies in a large register. I was asked my age, and many questions as to the 10th of August, being told to state what I had seen and what I had heard said by the King, the Queen, and the royal family. I told them just as much as I chose, and no more. I had no fear, and I felt myself upheld by an invisible

head, which has never left me, but has always made me keep my head and my presence of mind in the midst of the greatest dangers.

I requested to be allowed to rejoin my mother, and not to leave her. Several voices were raised to exclaim, "Yes, yes!" Others murmured, and when my examination was over I was told to leave the platform on which I had been examined, and after having passed through several corridors, I was taken back to my mother, who was very uneasy about me: she was there with Madame de Lamballe, and we were all three together again.

We remained in the office belonging to Tallien until noon, when they came to fetch us and take us to the prison of La Force. We were made to get into a hired carriage, which was surrounded by *gendarmes*, and followed by an immense crowd. An officer of the *gendarmerie* rode with us in the carriage, which took an hour and a half to get to La Force. We entered this horrible prison by the wicket gate opening on to the Rue des Ballets, and we had first of all to pass through the Council Hall, so that our names might be entered in the prison register.

I shall never forget one well-dressed man who was there, and who came to me when I was alone in the room, and said, "Mademoiselle, your position interests me, and I advise you to leave off your courtly airs, and be more familiar and more affable." Indignant at the impertinence of this man, I looked at

him straight in the face, and told him that such as I was I should always be; that nothing could change my disposition; and that the expression he had noticed on my face was neither more nor less than the reflex of what was passing in my heart, indignant at the horrors we were witnessing. He made no reply, but withdrew by no means pleased. My mother then came back into the room, but not for long. We were all three separated. My mother was taken into one cell, and I into another; I begged them to let us be together, but they were inexorable, and I found myself alone in my cell.

The gaoler brought me some water; he was a very good man, and seeing that I was in despair at being separated from my mother, and asked for no other consolation than to rejoin her, he was touched by my position, and, thinking to do me a pleasure, he left his little dog with me by way of distraction, saying, "Whatever you do, do not betray me; I shall pretend I forgot it."

At six o'clock in the evening he came to see me again, and finding me still in the same sad state, he said to me, "I am going to tell you a secret. Your mother is in the room above yours, so you are not far from her; moreover," he added, "in an hour's time you will have a visit from Manuel, the Procureur of the Commune, who will come to make sure that all is in order; do not appear to know him."

And, in fact, a short time afterwards I heard the door of the next cell unlocked, and then mine, and I

saw three men come into my room, in one of whom I recognised very clearly the same Manuel who took the King to the Temple. He thought my room damp, and spoke of changing it. I took the opportunity of telling him that one room was the same as another to me, so long as I was separated from my mother, and that the only favour I had to ask of him was to allow me to rejoin her. I spoke so earnestly that he seemed moved. He reflected for a moment, and then said, "I must come here again to-morrow; we will see; I will not forget you." The poor gaoler, as he shut the door, said to me in an undertone, "He is touched; I saw tears in his eyes; take courage till to-morrow."

This good François, for that was the name of the gaoler, gave me hope, and did me more good than I can express. I prayed to God with great calmness and tranquillity; I threw myself fully dressed on the horrible bench which served me for a bed, and I fell asleep.

At seven o'clock in the evening I saw Manuel come into my room; he told me that he was going to take me to my mother. I thought I saw in him a liberator; and when I beheld my poor mother in such affliction, I threw myself into her arms, thinking that all our misfortunes were over now that I was once more with her. He was so moved by the happiness we experienced, and the eagerness with which we expressed our gratitude to him, that the tears came to his eyes; he offered to bring the

Princess de Lamballe to my mother, and he went to fetch her on the spot. She passed the night in this room, and I returned to mine for this one night only. At eight o'clock on the following morning, Manuel came to us, and took us to the room that had been allotted to Madame de Lamballe, a more healthy and more commodious one than the others. We were all three once more united and alone, and for a moment we experienced the happiness of being able to share our misfortunes together.

On the following morning we received a packet from the Temple; it contained our effects, forwarded to us by the Queen, who, with the goodness that never left her, sent us word that she had been careful to pack them up herself. Among them was the dress belonging to Madame Elizabeth, which I have already mentioned. It is to me the pledge of everlasting remembrance; I keep it with holy respect, and I shall preserve it throughout my life.

The inconvenience of our lodging, the horror of our prison, the distress consequent on our separation from the King and the royal family, and the severity of the treatment with which we were threatened on account of this separation, made me, I confess, very dispirited, and alarmed the unfortunate Princess de Lamballe extremely. As for my mother, she displayed the admirable courage which you have seen during the sad circumstances of her life, a courage which, while it did not rob her of any of her sympathy, still left her soul in the state of tranquillity

necessary to allow her to use her mind whenever opportunity required her to do so. She read, worked, and talked as calmly as if she did not know what fear was; she appeared distressed, but never seemed to be uneasy.

We had been a fortnight in this sad abode when, on the 3d of September, at one o'clock in the morning, all three of us being in bed, and sleeping that sleep which is not free from anxiety, we heard our door unlocked, and saw a man, who said to me, "Mademoiselle de Tourzel, get up quickly and follow me." I trembled, and neither spoke nor moved. "What are you going to do with my daughter?" said my mother to this man. "That is no business of yours," he replied, in a manner that seemed to me somewhat harsh; "she must get up." "Get up, Pauline," said my mother to me, "and follow him." There was nothing for it but to obey. I got up slowly. The man still remained in the room, repeating, "Make haste." "Make haste, Pauline," said my mother also. I was dressed, but I had not moved. I then went to her bed and took her hand. The man, seeing that I was up, came to me, took me by the arm, and dragged me away in spite of myself. "Adieu, Pauline, and may God protect you and bless you!" exclaimed my mother. I was no longer able to answer her; two huge doors were already between us, and the man was still dragging me on.

As we were going down stairs he heard a noise, and with an uneasy and agitated air he thrust me

hurriedly into a small cell, locked the door, and disappeared. This cell had just been occupied, and was still lighted by a little bit of the end of a candle. I saw it burn out in less than a quarter of an hour, and I cannot tell you what I felt, or describe to you the sinister reflections inspired within me by this flickering light, now brilliant, now expiring. It represented to me the agony of death, and inclined me, more than the most touching speeches could have done, to sacrifice my life.

I remained, therefore, in the most profound darkness, and in a short time I heard my door open softly; I was called, and by the light of a small lantern I saw a man come in whom I recognised as the same who had locked me in—the man who was in the Council Hall when we entered La Force, and had given me the advice about which I was so indignant.

He made me walk quietly; and when we reached the bottom of the staircase, he ushered me into a room, showed me a parcel, and told me to dress myself in what I should find inside. He then shut the door, and I remained motionless, without doing anything and almost without the power of thought.

I do not know how long I remained in this state. I was only roused from it by the noise of the door opening, and I saw the same man. "What! Not dressed yet?" he said, with an anxious air. "It will be all over with you if you are not quickly out of this." I then looked at the parcel, and saw a

peasant's dress. The things seemed to me to be large enough to go over my own, and I put them on in a moment. The man then took me by the arm, and led me out of the room. I let myself be taken without asking any question, or making any reflection, and I scarcely saw what was around me. When we were outside the door of the prison, I perceived in the clear moonlight a prodigious number of people, and at the same moment I was surrounded by armed men of ferocious aspect, who seemed to be awaiting some victim to sacrifice. "A prisoner being rescued!" they all shouted at once as they threatened me with their swords.

The same man who was leading me did all he could to thrust them aside and make himself heard. I saw then that he wore the badge which distinguished the members of the Commune of Paris. This badge made it possible for him to secure a hearing, and he was allowed to speak. He told them that I was not a prisoner, that I was in La Force by sheer accident, and that he had just extricated me by a superior order, it not being just to make the innocent perish with the guilty.

This sentence made me tremble for my mother, who remained in captivity; the speech of my liberator (for I saw clearly that this was the part being played by this man, whose manner had appeared so harsh to me), had an effect on the crowd, and I was being permitted to pass when a soldier in the uniform of the National Guard stepped forward and told the

people that they were being deceived; that I was Mademoiselle de Tourzel; that he recognised me perfectly, as he had seen me a thousand times at the Tuileries when he was on guard in the apartments of Mgr. the Dauphin; and that my fate ought not to be different from that of the other prisoners.

The fury which had calmed down now redoubled against me and my protector to such an extent that I really thought my last moment had arrived, and that the service which he had desired to render me, would be to conduct me to my death, instead of leaving me to await it. He did not give way an inch. His tact, his eloquence, or perhaps my good luck, extricated me from this danger also, and we found ourselves free to go on our way.

We were still liable to encounter a thousand obstacles; we were compelled to pass along streets where we should meet many people; I was well known, and I ran the risk of being again arrested. This fear decided my guide to leave me in a very gloomy little courtyard, through which nobody was likely to pass, while he went to see what was going on in the neighbourhood, and if we could continue our walk without running fresh dangers. At the end of half an hour he returned, saying that he thought it would be more prudent if I changed my dress, and he brought me a coat, trousers, and a surtout, which he wished me to put on. I was not at all tempted to make use of this disguise; it would have been repugnant to me to die in a dress

which ought not to be worn by me. Fortunately I perceived that he had brought neither shoes nor a hat; I had a nightcap on my head, and coloured shoes on my feet; the disguise was therefore out of the question, and I remained as I was.

In order to get out of this little courtyard, it was necessary to pass again by the gates of the prison, which were surrounded by assassins, or to go through the Church of Saint Antoine the Less, where a meeting was being held to legalise their crimes. Both were equally dangerous for me.

We chose the church, and I was obliged to get through it by the side aisles, and almost to creep along the ground in order to escape observation by the people of whom the meeting was composed.

My conductor made me go into a little chapel in a side aisle, and placing me behind the ruins of an overturned altar he recommended me not to stir, whatever noise I might hear, and to await his return, which would be as soon as possible. I sat on my heels, and although I heard a great noise and even shrieks, I did not move from the spot where he had left me, resolved to await there the fate in store for me; and committing myself into the hands of Providence, I gave myself up to it with confidence, resigned to death if such should be its decree.

I was in this chapel for a very long time; at length I saw my guide arrive, and we left the church with the same precautions that we had observed when entering it. Not far from it my liberator (for I

cannot give him any other name) stopped in front of a house which he said was his, showed me into a room, and having shut me up in it left me at once. For one moment I rejoiced at being alone; but my joy was shortlived; the recollections of the dangers I had run showed me only too clearly those to which my mother was exposed, and I remained a prey to the most intense anxiety. I had given myself up to this feeling for more than an hour when M. Hardi (for it is time to tell you the name of him to whom we owe our lives) returned. He appeared to be in a state of greater alarm than I had yet seen him. "You have been recognised," he said to me, "and it is known that I have rescued you; they want to get possession of you again, and they believe that you are here; they might even come here to seize you; you must get away at once, but not with me, for that would be exposing yourself to certain danger. Take these," he continued, handing me a hat with a veil, and a black mantle, "listen attentively to what I am going to say to you, and do not forget the least detail. On going out of the door, turn to the right, and then take the first turning on the left, which will lead you to a small square into which three streets run; take the centre one, and then, near a fountain, you will see a passage which will take you into another large street; you will there find a hired carriage drawn up close to a dark alley. Hide yourself in this alley, and you will not have long to wait before you see me. Go at once, and,

above all things, do not forget my lesson" (he repeated it once more), "for if you do I shall not know how to find you, and what will become of you?" I saw how afraid he was lest I should not thoroughly remember all the information he had given me, and this fear, increasing that which I already experienced, disturbed me so that when I left the house I scarcely knew whether I ought to turn to the right or the left; as he saw from the window that I was hesitating he made me a sign, and I then remembered all that he had told me. My two sets of clothes, one above the other, gave me a strange figure; my anxious air might have caused me to be suspected; it seemed to me that everybody looked at me with astonishment. I had considerable trouble in getting to the place where I was to find the carriage. But at last I saw it, and I cannot tell you the joy I felt; I thought myself absolutely saved from that time. I withdrew into the dark alley, waiting for M. Hardi to appear. He did not come. I was in that alley for more than a quarter of an hour; my fears redoubled; if I remained there any longer I was afraid of appearing an object of suspicion to the people about; but how to get away? Where to go? I did not know the locality where I was, and if I asked any questions I might find myself in imminent danger.

As I reflected sadly as to what step I should take, I saw M. Hardi appear with another man. They made me get into the carriage, and they got in with me. The unknown took his place on the front seat

of the carriage, and asked me if I knew him. I looked at him and said to him, "You are, I think, M. Billaud de Varennes, who examined me at the Hotel de Ville." "It is true," he said; "I am going to take you to Danton and receive his orders about you." When we reached Danton's door these gentlemen got out of the carriage, went up to see him, returned shortly afterwards, and said to me, "You are saved; we have nothing more to do now than to take you to some place where you are not known; otherwise we could not be quite sure about you."

I begged to be taken to the Marchioness de Lède, my relative, a woman too old to be compromised by my presence. Billaud opposed this on account of the large number of servants who were in the house, some of whom might not be discreet in reference to my arrival in the house. He asked me to suggest some more obscure spot. I then remembered our good Babet, the girl who attended to our wardrobe; I thought I could not be better placed than in a poor household and a retired quarter. Billaud de Varennes—for he attended to all details—asked me the name of the street, in order to tell the coachman. I said the Rue du Sépulcre. This name, just at that time, made a great impression on him, and I saw on his face an expression of horror at this connection with all the current events. He said a word in an undertone to M. Hardi, advised him to take me to the house of the poor girl, and disappeared.

On our way I spoke of my mother; I asked M.

Hardi if she was still in prison. I wanted to rejoin her if she was still there, and to plead her innocence myself. It appeared to me to be a fearful thing that my mother should be exposed to the death from which I had just been snatched. I to be saved, and my mother to perish! The very thought made me beside myself.

M. Hardi tried to calm me, and pointed out to me that from the moment he had separated me from her he had been entirely occupied with providing for my safety; that he had unfortunately taken a long time over it; but that he flattered himself that he had still time enough to save my mother; that he was going back to the prison at once; and that he would not look upon his mission as complete until he had brought us together again. He asked me to be calm, and said that he had every hope of success.

He left me full of appreciation of the danger he had run in order to rescue me, and of the hope he had held out to me of being able to extricate my mother from all the perils I feared for her.

Adieu, dear Josephine, I am so tired that I cannot write more. Besides, my mother wants to tell you herself all that concerns her, and she will write to you to-morrow.

. . . . . .

[Pauline, in narrating her sad trials, has not mentioned how she bore them. She proved thoroughly that patience and courage can be allied to sweetness and extreme youth. M. Hardi says that she never dis-

played any weakness for a single moment amid the danger she ran. And I never saw her out of humour for a moment in prison, or during the four months we spent so sadly at Vincennes; she sweetened all my trouble, though she added, of course, to my anxieties. The idea of seeing her sharing dangers from which her age should have naturally shielded her, tormented me incessantly, and prevented me from enjoying the happiness of having her near me. Heaven had pity on us; it protected her innocence, and allowed her to be the safeguard of her mother. If it had not been for my dear Pauline I should not be living, and it is a great consolation to a mother to owe to the courage and tenderness of her daughter the happiness of being once more in the midst of all her children.]

CHAPTER XI.

This Chapter contains all the positive information I have been able t collect in regard to the situation of the Royal Family in 1793—Th futile attempts which Pauline and I made to be shut up in th Temple with Madame in 1795—The permission we at last obtaine to enter, but merely to pay visits to this Princess—The hope w had of accompanying her to Austria in accordance with the r quest of the Austrian Court, a hope put an end to by a fres arrest, imprisonment, and accusation, to act as a pretext fo refusal Circumstances of the Death of the young King Lou XVII., and the positive details I have collected on the subject.

We went in the month of December to take up abode at Abondant, a residence belonging to my about a league and a half from the little tow Dreux. We were only nineteen leagues from P and it took us only six hours to go there and b We did not wish to be far away from the object mutual solicitude, and we took thither and anxiety. The cruel end of our good King had completed them. We pict ves the state of the royal family, and grieved by not being able to conve expression of our grief, and that attachm could impair.

after this cruel catastrophe we

one fleeting moment of consolation. I had charged one of my women, Mademoiselle Pion, a person of great merit and tact, with the care of the attire of Madame. She had always continued, even after her incarceration in the Temple, to take her everything she required for her daily use. Orders were given to her for the prompt preparation of mourning for the Princess, and its delivery to her at once. There was a question, when she arrived at the Temple, of altering the dresses of the Queen, which were badly made, and she was asked if she would undertake the matter. She did not hesitate to do so, thinking that, as she was well known to the Queen and the royal family, they would rather see her face than one strange to them. She was employed in this work for two days, and as she could not leave Paris because of being in the service of Madame, she found means to let me know that she had something to tell me relative to the royal family, if I could manage to get to Paris. M. Hardi procured a passport for me, and hired a small room for me in the Rue Bourgtibourg in Marais, whither Pauline and I at once betook ourselves. She told me how she had managed to get into the Temple, and assured me that all the royal family were well.

"I cannot tell you," she added, "all that I felt when I saw that my insignificant person brought a ray of consolation to the faces of that august family. Their looks told me more than their words could have done; and Mgr. the Dauphin, whose age was

an excuse for any curiosity, took advantage of it to ask me, under cover of an apparent game, all the questions the royal family wished. He ran by turns to me, then to the Queen, the two Princesses, and even to the Municipal Guard. Every time he came to me he never failed to question me about the persons in whom the royal family took an interest. He told me to embrace you and Mademoiselle Pauline for him, he forgot none of those he loved, and he played his part so well that nobody could have suspected that he spoke to me."

The good health enjoyed by the members of the royal family did not last long. The young Princess had something the matter with her leg, which in the end became serious; anxiety and sorrow had affected her blood, and she suffered severely. Brunger, the children's doctor, was summoned, and he found that nothing that was necessary was forthcoming, such, for instance, as linen to bind up the leg, and he was compelled to bring some with him. He came to see us several times during my short stay in Paris, and took charge of our verbal commissions, but not a word was written lest he should be searched and deprived of the consolation of attending to Madame. Pauline and I found great consolation in being able to talk to him about the royal family, and in having trustworthy intelligence about the young Princess. He told us of her gentleness amid her profound grief, and of the patience with which she bore her sufferings. He was so attached to them all that he never spoke

of them except with tears in his eyes; and it relieved us to weep together over the misfortunes of this august family.[1]

We also had the happiness of seeing the Abbé Edgworth during our short stay in Paris. His touching recital of the last moments of our good King made our tears flow freely; we listened to

[1] Nothing could have been finer than the conduct of Brunger. He had made a small fortune, which he managed with great care, and he consequently gained a reputation for avarice; but after the 10th of August his purse was constantly open to all those servants of the royal family who had never wavered; and although he had some right to be annoyed with a judgment passed on him by the Queen in a memorandum found in her residence, he was none the less devoted up to his death. When Madame had left France, he, listening only to his own zeal, wished to join her, although he was overwhelmed with infirmities, and he was only dissuaded from his purpose by the consideration of the embarrassment he might cause her. Called as a witness in the trial of our august and unfortunate Sovereign, he conducted himself with all the respect due to her, without caring about the danger which he incurred by reason of the respectful manner he was accused of displaying in regard to the royal family when he was summoned to the Temple to attend upon Madame. He was so overcome by the position in which he saw the Queen, that when he was questioned about his secret correspondence with her during his visits to the Temple, he forgot to say that he had never entered her room unless accompanied by a Municipal Guard, who never left him for a moment. The courageous Queen, who felt that the omission might injure him, reminded the doctor of what he had forgotten to say. The critical situation in which she was placed did not prevent her from listening with the greatest attention to everything that concerned those who were attached to her, so that she might exculpate them from any charges that might be brought against them. She was asked who accompanied her to Varennes. "Madame de Tourzel, the governess of my children, whom we compelled to accompany us." What courage at such a moment! Could any one help cherishing a profound reminiscence of a Princess so devoted to those who had been in a position to appreciate so many great and heroic qualities?

him with the most profound respect, and I blessed Heaven a thousand times for having permitted me to see this angelic consoler. I was not fortunate enough to see the Abbé de Malesherbes, who was then at Malesherbes; but I saw Madame de Senozan, his sister, and I learnt that the King, in asking her what had become of me, made use of these words, which he desired should be sent to me at Abondant. "I wish you could give me news of Madame de Tourzel. She sacrificed everything for me, and I should find great consolation in your letting her know how sensible I am of her attachment." A precious reminiscence, which will remain for ever engraven on the heart whose sentiments he was so good as to appreciate at so trying a moment.

The attention paid to Madame was not repeated in the case of our poor little King. The young Prince felt ill in the month of May, and they did not want to give him any but the prison medicine. Fortunately, Thierry, physician to Marshal de Mouchy, allowed me to visit him, and to obtain from him news of our dear little Prince. He was profoundly touched by the position of the royal family; he went to Brunger to obtain information about the temperament of the child, and was in correspondence with him throughout his illness. This did not last long, and the patient was soon well again. One cannot help regretting that Heaven did not ordain that he should die; for he would have been spared the ill-treatment he experienced, and the frightful

captivity he endured from the time that the royal family were separated—a piece of unexampled barbarity which brought him to the grave.

It is impossible to express what we suffered when we heard that the young King had been taken away from the Queen, in order to be placed in the King's rooms in the custody of an atrocious man named Simon, who had shown what he was like at the Temple, on the day when he was on guard there as a Commissioner. Day and night I seemed to see the poor little Prince alone in that gruesome abode, and notwithstanding his youth, his grace, and everything calculated to excite the pity of a less ferocious monster, ill-treated, threatened, and in fearful despair. I pictured to myself the profound grief into which the royal family must be plunged; and tears came continually to my eyes as I looked at the portrait of that dear little Prince, which I had always worn ever since I was separated from him.

We had not yet reached the limit of misfortune, but we experienced it only too soon when we heard that the Queen had been taken to the Conciergerie. We could not think without dread of the consequences of this terrible step; but as long as those who are dear to us live we have always a ray of hope, and that feeling gives a very clear idea of what we must feel when they are no more. We went through that sad experience when we heard of the heroic end of this illustrious and courageous Princess. I cannot express in words all I felt in

[illegible] my own loss, and my [illegible] family wrought in [illegible] I thought I should go [illegible] in those whose [illegible] us. Heaven willed [illegible] by a miracle from the [illegible] Reign of Terror [illegible] we were incarcerated in [illegible] which we only [illegible] of the same year, [illegible] Robespierre.

[illegible] the loss of Madame [illegible] of youth and virtue. She [illegible] Madame. [illegible] this young Princess. [illegible] her sensitive heart, herself [illegible] given up to herself. [illegible] the midst of the keenest [illegible] Our own were torn [illegible] the thought of her situation, and that of our dear little Prince, both of them treated with [illegible] and deprived even of the [illegible] of weeping together over the misfortunes with which they were overwhelmed. No, we never pitied ourselves; we were too thoroughly absorbed in pity for the young King and Madame.

As soon as we got out of prison, and had a little more liberty, we tried to obtain news of them; but such complete silence was observed in regard to their situation that we could only indulge in con-

jectures, which were frequently contradicted by events. M. Hue did all in his power to glean some information, and afterwards very obligingly came to let me know what he had learnt. But, in spite of all his care, he knew so little of their real state that ten days before the death of the young King he assured me that he was then quite well.

I heard of this appalling event when I was out walking and was utterly unprepared for it. I fell at once into a state of extreme despondency ; everything became a matter of indifference to me, and I continued in the same condition until I was informed that the Assembly had consented to allow Madame to have a companion. My attachment for her restored my strength, and I determined to take every necessary step in order to obtain for Pauline and myself the favour of once more sharing the captivity of the young Princess. I was recommended to apply to a deputy named Pémartin, who was represented as being a sensible man, who sympathised with the situation of the Princess, and would give me good advice as to the conduct I should pursue in order to attain our end. I went with Pauline to his house, and we found him to accord with the description given of him. Unfortunately he had no influence, and could only point out the proper persons to go to. He named Cambacérès, Bergoin, Gauthier de l'Ain, and Boudin, all of them members of the Committee of Public Safety. The latter two, who had charge of the police arrangements of this Com-

Ma-

Madame.

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up there. We re-

gave us to understand that

a great many of them, and urged us to

have a little patience and not to despair. We were two months without hearing anything, but at the end of that time a lady, whom I did not know, came to me and offered, if I was willing to make use of her, to procure permission for me to go to the Temple and see Madame. She told me that as she was in a position to do me this service, she would do it with pleasure; but that as she had been told that I had given up all idea of going to the Temple, she had for the moment ceased her efforts. She, however, could not suspect me of being capable of such indifference, and that she had been desirous of assuring herself on this point. This, she said, was the object of her visit. It may well be imagined with what eagerness I assured her of the truth, and begged her to procure for me a happiness to which I attached so much value, and for which I should be eternally grateful. I merely asked her to let me warn Boudin, who had been too kind to us to allow us to risk making an enemy of him. She consented, and returned the same evening to tell me that the permission was granted, and that I could obtain it on the following day. I asked her how I could show my gratitude to her. She replied that she was only too happy to be able to do anything that would be agreeable to Madame; that she was leaving for Normandy in two days, and that all she would ask would be a word or two in writing, to show my appreciation of the happiness she had procured for me, which

she herself would fetch. She would not give me her name, she called for her note, and I never heard of her afterwards.

On the following day we went to Boudin, and told him that we had been assured that if we again approached the Committee of Public Safety we might hope to see Madame. He told us that it was so, and advised us to go once more to Gauthier de l'Ain, who at once gave us permission to enter the Temple. At eight o'clock in the morning we went to the Committee of Public Safety, and Gauthier himself gave us the permit. It allowed us to visit the Temple once in every ten days, and directed us to leave it in the hands of the guardians of Madame in the Temple. I asked Gauthier if Madame knew of all the losses she had sustained; he told us that he did not know; and during the whole of the drive from the Committee, which was installed in the Rue de Brienne, to the Temple, we were overwhelmed with the anxiety of having possibly to tell her that she had lost all that was dearest to her in this world.

When we reached the Temple I handed my permit to the guardians of Madame, and I asked to be allowed to see Madame de Chantereine in private. She told me that Madame was fully acquainted with all her misfortunes, that she expected us, and that we could go in. I begged her to tell Madame that we had come. I was afraid of the impression that might be made on the Princess by the sight of

the two persons who, when she went to the Temple, were in attendance on those she held dearest in the world, and whose loss she was reduced to deplore; but fortunately the emotion she experienced had no disastrous result. She came to meet us, embraced us tenderly, and took us to her room, where we mingled our tears over the objects of our regret. She spoke of them incessantly, and gave us a most touching and distressing account of the moment of her separation from the King, her father, whom she loved so tenderly, and to whom she was so attached. To the narrative of Cléry I can only add one detail, which depicts the grandeur of soul of his Majesty, and his love for his people. I will let Madame recount it in her own words:—

"My father, before leaving us for ever, made us all promise never to think of avenging his death; and he was quite sure that we should regard the observance of his last wish as a sacred duty. But the extreme youth of my brother made him wish to produce a still stronger impression on him. He took him on his knees and said to him, 'My son, you have heard what I have just said; but as an oath is a still more sacred thing than mere words, raise your hand and swear that you will observe the last wish of your father.' My brother burst into tears as he obeyed him, and this touching goodness caused our tears to flow afresh."

Nothing can be added to such an act at such a moment.

We had left Madame weak and delicate, and when we saw her again at the end of three years of unexampled misfortune, we were much astonished to find her lively, tall, and strong, and with that air of nobility which was the characteristic of her race. Pauline and I were struck by her likeness to the King, the Queen, and even Madame Elizabeth. Heaven, which destined her to be a model of that courage which, without diminishing the softer parts of a character, renders it capable of great action, did not allow her to succumb under the weight of so many misfortunes.

Madame spoke of them with angelic sweetness; we never observed in her one single bitter feeling against the authors of all her ills. A worthy daughter of the King her father, she still pitied the French, and she always loved the land in which she was so unhappy; and when I said that I could not help longing for her departure from France, so that she might be delivered from her frightful captivity, she replied in a sad tone, "I have still some consolation in living in a country where the ashes of those who were dearest to me repose." And as she burst into tears, she added, in a heart-broken voice, "I should have been happier if I had shared the fate of my dearly-loved parents than I am in being condemned to weep for them." How sad, but at the same time how touching it was to hear a young princess, only fifteen years old, thus express herself —one who, at an age when all should be happiness

and hope, as yet was only acquainted with sorrow and tears.

She spoke lovingly to us of the young King her brother, and of the barbarous treatment to which he was daily exposed. That monster Simon beat him, in order to compel him to sing the *Carmagnole* and other detestable songs, so that the Princesses might hear him; and though the Prince hated wine he made him drink it, because he wished to make him drunk. This happened one day when in the presence of Madame and Madame Elizabeth he made him relate the horrors which were brought up during the trial of our unhappy Queen. At the conclusion of this atrocious scene the poor little Prince, who was beginning to get sober, went to his sister and took her hand to kiss it; the wretch Simon, who saw the movement, grudged him this slight consolation, and carried him off at once, leaving the Princesses in a state of consternation over what they had just witnessed.

I could not help asking Madame how it was that she, with all her depth of feeling and in such fearful solitude, had been able to bear up against so many misfortunes. Nothing could be more touching than her answer, which I feel I must record.

"Without religion it would have been impossible; it was my only resource, and procured for me the only consolation of which my heart was susceptible; I had kept the devotional books belonging to my aunt Elizabeth; I read them, I fixed their counsel in

my mind. I sought never to stray from it, but to observe it faithfully. When she kissed me for the last time and nerved me to courage and resignation, she recommended me earnestly to ask to have some woman with me. Although I infinitely preferred my solitude to any one who would then have been placed with me, my respect for the wish of my aunt did not permit me to hesitate. My request was refused, and I confess that I am very glad it was.

"My aunt, who foresaw only too clearly the unhappiness to which I was destined, had accustomed me to wait upon myself and to do without assistance. She mapped out my life so that every hour had its occupation; the care of my room, prayer, reading, work all were laid down. She accustomed me to make my bed myself, to do my hair, lace and dress myself, and she, moreover, neglected nothing that could conduce to my health. She made me scatter water about to freshen the air of my room, and insisted also that I should walk about quickly for an hour, with my watch in my hand, to prevent any stagnation of my blood."

These details, so interesting to listen to from the very lips of Madame, made us burst into tears; we admired the courage of this saintly Princess, and her foresight in regard to everything that could be of use to Madame. She was the consolation of her august family, and especially of the Queen, who, not so religious as she was when they entered the Temple, had the happiness of imitating this angel of virtue. Not

content with being mindful of those who were dear to her, she employed her last moments in preparing those persons who were condemned to share her fate to meet their God; and she displayed the most heroic charity up to the very moment when she went to receive the reward promised to virtue so striking and so proven as was that of this virtuous and saintly Princess.

It was with difficulty that Madame persuaded herself that she had lost her for ever. She had never been able to believe that the fury of the mob could be carried to such an extent as to attack the life of a Princess who had no concern whatever with the Government, and whose virtue was so much respected that profound silence reigned as she was taken from the Conciergerie to the Monceaux barrier. It was not the same in the case of the Queen; she had seen her too evidently a target for the evil disposed; her courage and her title of mother of the young King were too much feared to permit of her daughter ever hoping again to be clasped in her arms. The farewell between mother and daughter was consequently heartrending.

This young Princess, after her separation from Madame Elizabeth, spent nearly fifteen months alone, given up to her grief and the saddest reflections, having no other book than the voyages of La Harpe, which she read over and over again, lacking everything but asking for nothing, and mending everything herself, even to her shoes and stockings. She

was visited several times by the Commissioners of the Convention; her replies were so curt and so laconic that they did not prolong their visits. It seemed as if Heaven had set upon her the seal of its protection, for all felt for her an amount of respect which they never failed to display. When she heard the "assembly" sounded she had a ray of hope, for in her sad position, and as she did not fear death, any change would have been in her favour. One day she thought she had come to the end of her troubles, and she awaited death with the calmness of innocence and virtue. She was so ill that she lost consciousness, and she awoke as if from a profound sleep, without any idea of how long she had been in that state. In spite of all her courage she confessed to us that she was so weary of her profound solitude that she said to herself, "If they end by placing with me anybody who is not a monster, I feel that I shall not be able to prevent myself loving her."

In this state of mind she witnessed the arrival of Madame de Chantereine at the Temple with pleasure. The latter was not devoid of wit, and appeared to have been well educated. She knew Italian, which was a pleasure to Madame, who had learned that language. She was a clever embroiderer, and this was a resource for the young Princess, whom she taught to embroider. But having been brought up in a small provincial town, where she was a leader of such society as there was, she had assumed a self-sufficient air, and had such an exalted idea of her

own merits, that she thought she ought to be the mentor of Madame, and adopted a tone of familiarity with her which the goodness of the Princess prevented her from noticing. Pauline and I endeavoured to show her the respect she owed the Princess by that which we showed her; but it was of no use. She had so small an idea of what was proper, that she thought herself authorised to put on airs of authority, which pained us. She was, moreover, very susceptible, liked to be made much of, and looked very much askance at us when she saw that we confined ourselves, in her regard, to mere politeness. Madame had conceived a friendship for her, and paid her the most touching attention on the occasion of a nervous attack which she had one day when we were in the Temple. She seemed to be very much attached to Madame, and under the circumstances we ought to have been glad to see near her a person who appeared to be agreeable to her, and who certainly had some good points in her favour.

She left us alone with Madame on the occasion of our first visits; but afterwards she always joined us, and we were consequently less at our ease, especially after the 13th of Vendémiaire; for as she then was afraid of compromising herself she was less complacent with us than she had previously been. I nevertheless found means of informing Madame of what it was important that she should know, and of handing her a letter from the King.

It was his reply to a very touching letter which Madame wrote to him on the day when I saw her for the first time. The King wrote her a very tender, paternal letter, and she would have gladly kept it, but that was impossible. I risked my life each time I took charge of her letters, and it would have been just the same if one of his Majesty's letters had been found on Madame. She burnt it with great regret, and a pang shot through me when I asked her to make the sacrifice.

I had written to the King the day after I had the happiness of seeing Madame for the first time. I received a reply full of kindness, which I equally regretted that I was not able to keep. He desired me to tell Madame of his wish to see her the wife of the Duke d'Angoulême. This marriage was so thoroughly in accord with her attachment to his august family, and also to France, which had so ill-treated her, that she was spontaneously inclined to it. Now another very powerful motive furthered it; it was the clearly pronounced wish of the King and her mother that the marriage should be celebrated as soon as the Princes returned to France, and I repeated to her the exact words used by the Queen when their Majesties were good enough to confide to me their intentions in the matter.

"It has pleased certain persons," said her Majesty to me, "to give my brother unfavourable impressions as to the feelings we entertain towards them. We will prove the contrary to them by

giving the hand of my daughter at once to the Duke d'Angoulême, in spite of her extreme youth, which might reasonably have made us wish to postpone such a thing."

She entered, moreover, in detail into the minor arrangements in connection with it, and I repeated them to Madame, in order to confirm the correctness of my communication. She seemed astonished that they had never mentioned the matter to her, but I pointed out to her that they had thought it prudent not to occupy her imagination with thoughts of marriage, which might have been prejudicial to her attention to her studies.

The idea of uniting her misfortunes to those of her family, and of being still useful to her country by avoiding the pretensions which a foreign prince might have entertained if she had married one, also made a great impression on Madame. She asked me a thousand questions about the Duke d'Angoulême, to which I could not reply, by reason of our absolute lack of knowledge as to what was going on outside France; for Pauline and I were obliged to be very circumspect lest we should be deprived of the hope of accompanying her to Vienna.

On the occasion of our first visit to the Temple, she asked me after all who had been attached to her, as well as to the Queen and the royal family, especially the young people whom she had seen at my house. Her heart forgot nothing that was of in-

terest to them. She was also deeply touched by the pains that were taken to prove the affection she inspired. The windows looking on to the Temple garden were always occupied when she was walking there. Bands played in the neighbourhood, and romaunts were sung of which she was evidently the object. The affection displayed towards her was a consolation to her afflicted heart; but after the 13th of Vendémiaire it was no longer possible to express it so openly.

I asked Madame one day if she had never been inconvenienced during the period of her profound solitude. "I was so little occupied with myself," she said, "that I did not pay any great attention to myself." It was on this occasion that she mentioned the fainting fit to which I have already alluded, adding some reflections on the small importance she attached to life, which were so touching that it was impossible to listen to her without being deeply moved. I cannot recall these details without distress, but I should reproach myself if I omitted to make known the courage and generosity of this young Princess. So far from complaining of all that she had had to suffer in this horrible tower, which recalled so many misfortunes to her, she never spoke of herself; and her reminiscences were powerless to efface from her heart the loss of a country which was always dear to her.

She told us that after the 9th of Thermidor more attention was paid to her. The guardianship of her-

self and the young King was confided to a man named Laurent, who behaved better to her than to him, and the lot of the young Prince was not really ameliorated until this man was replaced by Lasne and Gomin, who were appointed Commissioners of the Temple. They found the unfortunate young Prince in a dreadful state, into the details of which I have not the courage to enter. Moreover, this subject is dealt with correctly in other works.

Lasne was a frank soldier, loyal and devoid of ambition ; he contented himself with replying to the questions put to him, and always spoke of Madame with the greatest respect.[1] Gomin was cleverer than Lasne, but more ambitious and not so frank. He paid great attention to Madame de Chantereine, in the hope that she might be useful to him ; and he persuaded her that he came of a very good family, although he was merely the son of the guard of Madame Nicolaï. These two guardians behaved well to Madame, who praised their conduct, and they seemed to be very much attached to her.

I will interrupt this narrative concerning Madame for a moment, to mention what I heard in the Temple about the young King, of whom I frequently spoke to Gomin and Lasne, and I will add to these details the account of his death, and the precautions I took

[1] After Madame left the Temple it was converted into a State prison, and Lasne was appointed the gaoler. The prisoners, as a rule, spoke in his praise, despite the strictness with which he discharged his duties. I was not at all astonished to hear this, after his conduct towards me, of which I shall give an account in the course of these Memoirs.

to assure myself of its reality, of which I have not the least doubt. It seems to me that a proof of it may be useful to those who read these Memoirs.

Gomin told me that when the young King was handed over to their care, he was in a state of neglect which was painful to see, and from which he suffered the most disastrous inconvenience. He had fallen into a state of continual absorption, speaking little, and displaying unwillingness either to walk or to occupy himself with anything. He had, nevertheless, some flashes of surprising genius. He liked to leave his room, and it was a pleasure to him to be taken to the Council Chamber and placed on a seat near the window. Poor Gomin, who, in spite of his goodwill, did not understand anything about the care of invalids, did not perceive at first that this state of absorption was consequent upon a malady to which the poor little Prince was subject in consequence of bad treatment and a total want of the fresh air and exercise more necessary to him than any other child; for, in speaking of the beauty of his face, which he preserved even after death, he praised the two little red spots in his cheeks, which told only too clearly of the internal fever that was consuming him. He, however, quickly perceived that all his joints were swollen, and he several times asked that a doctor might be sent to see him. No notice was taken of these requests, and Dussault, the principal surgeon of the Hôtel Dieu, was only sent to him when help was of no avail.

Dussault displayed the greatest emotion when he saw the deplorable state to which this august and unfortunate child was reduced. He had the greatest desire to save his life, and did everything in his power to succeed. He thought of nothing else, never slept by day or night, and spent all his time in trying to find some method of attaining his object. His imagination was so absorbed in this that his health suffered. He was attacked with a serious abscess. The fear of seeing himself replaced by somebody who did not share his sentiments made him take measures to suppress it; it became inflamed, and he had an attack of dysentery, which in a few days carried him off. Pelletan, who took his place as principal surgeon to the Hôtel Dieu, was sent to succeed him in the Temple. The child was in a dying state; he could only mitigate his sufferings, and a few days afterwards the young King breathed his last.

Unable to bear the idea of a loss which I felt so keenly, and having some doubt about the truth of it, I was anxious to be certain on the point. From my infancy I had known Dr Jeanroi, an old man over eighty, scrupulously honest and deeply attached to the royal family. He had been selected to assist at the *post-mortem* examination of the young King; and as I could rely upon his word as my own, I begged him to come and see me. His reputation had caused him to be selected by the members of the Commune, in order that his signature should strengthen the proof that the young King had not

been poisoned. The brave man at first refused to go to the Temple to state the cause of death, warning them that if he perceived the slightest trace of poison he would mention it, even at the risk of his life. "You are precisely the man we must have," they said, "and it is for that reason that we prefer you to anybody else." They had had no need of employing poison; the barbarity of their conduct towards a child of that age could not fail to compass his death. His good constitution prolonged his sufferings; the dirt in which he was purposely left, and the want of air and exercise, had thoroughly vitiated his blood. This young Prince, whom I had left so fresh and healthy, was in a frightful condition, the necessary consequence of the cruel life to which beings as corrupt as they were pitiless had condemned him. His youth, beauty, and grace were powerless to soften the hardness of their hearts.

I asked Jeanroi if he had known him well before his imprisonment in the Temple. He said that he had seldom seen him, and he added, with tears in his eyes, that the countenance of this child, whose features were unaltered by the shadows of death, was so beautiful and so interesting that it was always before him in thought, and that he should recognise the young Prince immediately if he saw a portrait of him. I showed him a very striking likeness which I had fortunately preserved. "There is no mistaking it," he said, bursting into tears; "it is himself; there can be no question of it."

This testimony was still further strengthened by that of Pelletan, who, summoned to my house for a consultation some years after the death of Jeanroi, was struck by the resemblance of a bust he saw on my mantlepiece to the dear little Prince, and although there was nothing in it to lead him to recognise it, he exclaimed at once, "It is the Dauphin! Ah! how like it is!" and he repeated the remark made by Jeanroi. "The shadows of death did not in any way alter the beauty of his features." He added that he had seen but little of him, that he was dying and insensible to everything but the care bestowed on him, which he was just able to appreciate.

It was impossible for me to throw the slightest doubt on the testimony of two such trustworthy men. It only remained for me to lament the death of my dear little Prince. I lamented it with even more certainty in my mind when chance supplied me with a last proof, one which may be looked upon as irrefutable, stronger even than the evidence of Pelletan.

One day Madame offered to take us into the room once occupied by the King; she entered, followed by Pauline, with saintlike respect. The loss of the young King was still so recent that I felt I had not the courage to look at the place where he had suffered so much, and I begged Madame to allow me to stay behind. I went into the rooms of the little Tower, and I was very glad not to have shown the same weakness about them. After having once

more looked at the spots which Pauline and I had quitted with so much regret, Madame took us to the library, and we spent the afternoon there. She began to chat with Pauline, and said to me, "If you are curious enough to look into the register that is on that table, you will find the diary of the Commissioners from the date of our coming to the Temple." I needed no second request, and I set to work at once to examine this register. In it I saw the daily account rendered to the Convention in regard to its august prisoners. They confirmed me but too surely in my opinion that not even the slightest hope could be held that the young King was still alive. As I feared that time would fail me to make a thorough examination, I first of all looked at the portions concerning our young King. I there saw the progress of his malady, the details of his last moments, and even those relating to his burial.[1] When I had finished this sad reading, and was beginning the part which concerned the royal family, Gomin came into the library, and seeing me with the register in my hands, he took it away violently, reproached me very severely with the imprudence of my conduct, and threatened to complain of it. Madame, with her wonted goodness, confessed

[1] The *curé* of Sainte Marguerite, the late M. Dubois, told me on several occasions, and especially just before his death, that the Suisse of that parish, who was present at the interment of the young King, as well as the bearers of the corpse and the grave-digger, could give precise information in regard to the spot in the cemetery where the ashes of the young King reposed.

herself guilty of having given me the register, and told him that he would distress her if he carried the matter any farther. The fear of compromising himself turned his head, and he called his colleague Lasne to know if he could accede to the wish expressed by Madame. Lasne advised him not to do anything that would distress her, and to content himself with making me promise not to tell anybody that I had seen the register, or to mention what it contained. I kept my promise faithfully up to the appearance of the last little impostor calling himself the Dauphin, when I thought I ought to expose his imposture by the narrative of all I have just written relative to our young King. Even in the first instance, no inconvenience could have resulted to Lasne and Gomin, and I never understood why the latter was so distressed to see me reading a register which testified in his favour, seeing that it plainly proved that he had neglected nothing in order to procure for the young Prince the assistance which was so constantly refused him.

His death made a great sensation, and brought about a sensible alteration in public opinion, which accused the members of the Convention of having caused it. Uneasy about their own fate, in case France should renew the majority of its deputies, they proposed to decree that one-third only should be renewed at a time. This motion was opposed, and the decree sanctioning its provisions was only passed by manifest fraud. But as they were not strong enough

to give free scope to their mania for persecution, they left us comparatively quiet. I took advantage of this quiet to assume that my permit for the Temple was for three days a week instead of three days out of every ten, and we went there regularly until the 13th of Vendémiaire, when it became necessary for us to confine ourselves strictly to the permit that had been granted to us.

The commotion which prevailed in Paris from the beginning of that day, the result of the disturbances which had taken place on the previous evening in all the sections of the city, made Pauline and myself resolve to go to the Temple, in order that we might be near Madame, and in readiness for any event that might happen.[1]

We were all three in a state of great agitation, not daring to indulge in hope, when Gomin came to

[1] Paris, as well as all France, had by this time grown weary of the yoke of the Convention, and would have thought itself fortunate in being once more under the government of its legitimate Sovereign. The sections of Paris displayed more courage than might have been expected from them; but as there was no concerted action among them, nor anybody of sufficient influence to unite them all under one direction, their good will was of no avail. It is beyond a doubt that if there had been a leader to direct this movement, the counter revolution would have been brought about in France spontaneously and without assistance from anybody. I have been assured that at this juncture Pichegru suggested to the Prince de Condé that he should come (but alone) and take the command of his army, of which he could otherwise dispose, wishing to keep to himself the honour of the Restoration; but the Prince, who did not know Pichegru sufficiently well to trust him absolutely, dared not risk leaving his own army, and we lost one of the most favourable opportunities that presented itself in the course of this disastrous revolution.

tell us that a cannonade was going on, and that from the terrace of the tower he had heard the sound of musketry. Seeing that not a word reached us, it became evident that events were not turning in our favour, and Gomin pointed out to us that we should be imprudent if we delayed our departure until nightfall. We hesitated, not being able to make up our minds to leave Madame; however, we had to come to some decision. She took leave of us very sadly, thinking of the misfortunes that might result from this fatal day, and we promised her to return on the following day, though it was scarcely within the bounds of possibility.

We walked on in silence, and very uneasy as to what was going on in the streets of Paris. We saw nothing alarming until we reached the Place de Grève, where an enormous number of people were being almost suffocated in their efforts to escape. We asked a man, who seemed to be quieter than the rest, if we could safely cross the bridges on our way to the Faubourg Saint Germain. He advised us to keep away from the quays, to get across the Notre Dame bridge as soon as we could, and to find our way inside Paris. Crossing the bridge was terrible; we were surrounded by the smoke and flashes from the guns, which were fired incessantly; but when we got into the streets, we did not meet a soul. Everybody had retired inside the houses, and it was only when we reached the Rue du Colombier that we met a few people, and even they could not tell us what

was going on. We knew nothing about it until we reached the house of the Duchess de Charost, my daughter, who was in mortal dread from not having heard of us. We only got to her at nine o'clock in the evening, and she was overjoyed to see us again safe and sound.

We returned to the Temple on the following day, and Madame welcomed our arrival with great pleasure. She was uneasy in regard to what was going on in the city, and was anxious for our return. We had only distressing news for her. The Convention, who were mortally afraid of seeing the sections march against them, had lost their heads; anybody who pleased went to the Committee of Public Safety and gave advice; Bonaparte, who had carefully inquired into what was going on, and saw the want of order in all the movements of the sections and the terror which prevailed throughout, promised the Convention that he would turn the events of the day to their advantage, if they would give him the conduct of affairs. They consented. He moved the guns into the Rue Saint Honoré, opened fire on the troops of the sections, and dispersed them at once. It was the beginning of his fortune. Alarm and stupor then took the place of hope; the soldiers insulted the passers by, and everybody shuddered at the possible consequences of this fatal day.

In spite of the commotion in Paris, we continued our visits to the Temple in peace, and without experiencing the slightest inconvenience. We walked

there alone and unattended, and we did not return until night, so as to spend as much time as possible with Madame. We walked with her in the garden when the weather permitted, and we then played at tennis with her. We brought her some tapestry work, and did all we could to procure a little distraction for her.

We could not reproach ourselves with having left a stone unturned to enable us to accompany her to Vienna. We saw Cambacérès and all the members of the various Committees on whom this permission depended, and we were in great hopes of succeeding, when, on the 8th of November, the armed force, accompanied by two Commissioners of Police, came to my house at eight o'clock in the morning with an order to arrest me; and, as they did not find me, the two Commissioners remained in my room until my return. I had gone out very early, and I came back quietly to breakfast when the wife of an attendant warned me of what was going on. I turned back and went to the house of my agent in the Rue de Bagneux, a small street in an unfrequented quarter, in order to give myself time to reflect on what was best to be done.

I knew that the person who had conveyed the King's letters had been arrested, and that he had among his papers a letter which I had written to his Majesty, enclosing one from Madame. Moreover, I had in my house the MS. of the work of M. Hue, who had insisted on my finding time to read it, in

spite of my anxiety at having it in my possession. All this was worrying me extremely, and making me very uncertain as to the conduct I ought to observe, when Madame de Charost, to whom I had contrived to send information of my whereabouts, sent word to me that she had got hold of the MS., which was in a place of safety. My brave agent, who had gone to warn M. Hue of what was going on, and had assured him of the safety of his MS., also brought me the reassuring intelligence that the person entrusted with the King's correspondence had been set at liberty, and was already far from Paris. Having nothing positive to fear, and being unwilling that it should be said that I had hidden myself just when I had some hope of accompanying Madame, I returned home, at the risk of whatever might happen. I was warned of the presence of an armed force in my house by the good people of my quarter, who could not understand my voluntarily exposing myself to being caught in their clutches.

As soon as I returned home, the Commissioners of Police made an inventory of my papers. As I had not preserved any, I was perfectly calm in regard to the result of this proceeding, and I dined quietly at home before proceeding to the Hôtel de Brienne, where the Committee of Public Safety held its sittings, business not commencing until six o'clock. My two daughters, the Duchess de Charost and Pauline, would not leave me, but accompanied me to this Committee, which, although suppressed,

still continued its functions. This was precisely the day when poor Lemaitre, accused of correspondence tending to recall the Bourbon family to France, was executed, and I was not spared any of the details of this sad day, being informed in addition that in future the greatest severity would be employed with the Royalists, including the ladies with bonnets, great care being taken to look fixedly at me when these amiable remarks were being made. In the end they sent away my daughters when I was ready to appear before my examiners.

I underwent an examination which lasted for more than two hours, and it is impossible to conceive more captious or sillier questions than formed the subject of this examination. They imagined me to be in correspondence with the Emperor and with all the Powers interested in the House of Bourbon; they wanted to know the names of all the people in Paris with whom I was acquainted, and they put a thousand questions to me relating to Madame, asking me what I said to her when I was alone with her, and what were her occupations and her sentiments. These latter, which I repeated to them boldly, could not but make them blush. They were enraged not to be able to find me in the wrong. Several of them threatened me, and one among them, more violent than the rest, said with a menacing gesture, "You are playing with us as a cat does with a mouse; I am going very soon to confound you with all the proofs I shall produce against you." "When you

have told me what they are," I replied, "I will see what answer I have to make." They stopped from time to time to sign warrants of arrest, passing and repassing in front of me in the hope of annoying me. Having utterly failed of success, they brought this lively examination to a close, they themselves thinking it so pitiful that they refused to give me a copy of it, though I had a right to one.

At eleven o'clock at night I was taken to the College des Quatre Nations, which had been converted into a prison, and I remained there for three days in secret. At the end of this time the new Assembly, the newly-elected third of which was composed of good men, demanded that the new Constitution should be applied in my case; and as this required that within two or three days at the latest the accused should be examined by the judge of the section, on whom devolved the responsibility of deciding whether or not there were any grounds of accusation, I was taken before the judge of our section. He was, fortunately for me, an honest man, and he behaved as such. One of the deputies who had assisted at my examination brought it himself, and asked the judge if he could not base some charge on the facts set out in it. The judge unhesitatingly replied that it was impossible, so long as proofs of another kind were not forthcoming. The man insisted, but equally without result; and Judge Violette, who was indignant, found means to let me know that I might make my mind easy, and that I

should be sent home. The deputy, displeased with this reply, succeeded in passing a decree treating every arrested person as guilty, although justified by his examination, until definitely acquitted by a jury. The judge gave me a copy of the examination he had held, and I saw there with sorrow that Madame had been treated in the same way, and that I had been set at liberty in consequence of my replies tallying with those made by her in the examination to which she had been subjected.

I knew Madame too well to have any doubt about her discretion, and I had no fear of being compromised by her replies. This fresh persecution was the result of a private intrigue, the object of which was to prevent Madame from going to Vienna, and to have an excuse for letting the Emperor know that, being an accused person, I could not accompany her. I will not state the names of these persons, as what concerns me personally can only be interesting in so far as it relates to the royal family.

I had some doubt as to whether we should be allowed to go to the Temple again; but as our permit had not been revoked, Pauline and I returned there as usual, although several persons, actuated by their interest in us, wished to dissuade us, warning us that they had heard it said that it was entirely my own fault that I had been arrested, and that the indiscretion of my conduct in regard to Madame was the sole cause of it. According to them, I was

exciting her imagination by giving her ideas of marriage with the Duke d'Angoulême, and my desire to get back to her might have disastrous results, so far as I was concerned. I made light of these remarks, and I should have reproached myself all my life if I had condemned myself to such a deprivation. When we reached the Temple, we were made to wait in the porter's lodge, where Gomin came and informed us that we should not be allowed in future to pay any visits there.

We could not express to Madame, even in writing, all we felt. Gomin was our only interpreter; and from this moment to that of her departure we were deprived of all correspondence with her: we only heard of her departure through the newspapers. M. Hue, who had obtained permission to join her at the frontier, in order to remain with her in Vienna, came to see us before his departure, and took charge of our verbal commissions. Madame wrote to me from Huningue, before leaving France. I have carefully preserved this letter, as well as one which I received from her from Calais on her return to France, as precious records of her goodness to me, and of the justice she has never ceased to do to the profound attachment I have vowed to her to my dying hour.

When Madame was gone, I was advised to take steps to obtain a verdict from the jury, and to address M. Benezech, Minister of Interior, who had been to the Temple to fetch Madame and place her in the hands of Madame de Soucy and M. Méchin, ap-

pointed by the Assembly to conduct her to the frontier. I eagerly seized this opportunity of hearing from him some details of Madame's journey, and I went to his house with Pauline. He spoke to me of the Princess with the most profound respect, and as if he was moved by her misfortunes and the courage with which she bore them. He was astonished at the attachment she still had for France, and at her sorrow on leaving it; he was still moved as he spoke of the kindness with which she thanked the people who had waited on her in the Temple, and of that indulgent goodness which harboured no resentment on account of all that she had suffered during her captivity. She left in him a feeling of profound esteem. How, indeed, could anybody help feeling esteem for a Princess so young and yet so capable of such great restraint over herself? She derived this power from the great principles which strengthened the noble disposition which Heaven had allotted to her.

I had the happiness of receiving several letters from Madame during her residence abroad, and one especially which cannot but be read with respect and sympathy, even by persons of opposite opinions. Not by them can any fault be found with the grandeur of soul, and the sympathy with which she expresses opinions so opposed to those attributed to her by the enemies of the house of Bourbon.

The persecutions which I subsequently underwent, and were made to recoil on my children, especially on

the Marchioness de Tourzel, my daughter-in-law, and my daughter, the Duchess de Charost, are not of sufficient interest to warrant their being recorded in in a work solely devoted to rendering homage to the memory of our august and unfortunate Sovereigns; to recalling their sufferings and that extreme goodness which never left them; and to making known, at the same time, the noble character developed by Madame, then scarcely more than a child, under every circumstance of a life so severely tried as hers has been.

FRAGMENTS

ABOUT THE ARRIVAL AND MARRIAGE OF MADAME AT MITTAU, WRITTEN BY THE ABBÉ DE TRESSAN, AN EYEWITNESS, TO ONE OF MY FRIENDS.

THE 7TH OF JUNE 1799.

I arrived here a few days ago with Lord Folkestone; and in spite of the limited time at our disposal to finish our journey, we could not resist the desire to witness the arrival of Madame at Mittau. By the kindness of the King, we received permission to remain there until after the marriage of the Princess with the Duke d'Angoulême.

It would be impossible for us to describe all our feelings; but seeing that all details concerning this angel of consolation are interesting to religion and to the honour and sympathy of all good souls, we are going to collect our reminiscences and our thoughts, in order to give them to you in some sort of order, and his lordship and I beg you to quote from this letter everything that you may deem capable of inspiring the feelings by which we are actuated.

You remember the Heaven-directed event which came to assuage the tears shed by the successor of Saint Louis, Louis XII., and Henri IV., over the misfortunes of France and his family—what serenity reappeared on his brow the moment he heard that Madame was coming to Vienna? His heart beat more freely when he saw her in that asylum; and aided, as he is pleased to repeat over and over again, by a faithful friend, whose name the time in which we live forbids us to mention, he united all his cares and all his efforts to obey the views of Providence, which confided to him the task of watching over the daughter of Louis XVI.

He did not remain in doubt for a moment about the selection of the husband whom he wished to be accepted by Madame. His paternal and French heart could not endure the idea of seeing her separated from France, however necessary it appeared to be that he should support her and save her from the destitution which still threatened her. Madame was the first to desire a marriage which permitted her to join her lot to that of her family; and retaining in her heart a profound feeling for that France which had made her so unhappy, she gave it her approbation. The King was at that time occupied entirely in gaining the consent of this Princess to unite herself to the tears, hopes, and feelings of the heir to his name. The prayers of the King were heard; Madame is in his arms; thence she will reclaim her right to the love of the French, and

there she will conceive ardent hopes of their happiness; for of her long and terrible misfortunes there only remains the extreme need of making the people happy.

As soon as the King had removed all the obstacles which stood in the way of his wishes, he informed the Queen that he was speedily going to unite his adopted children, and asked her to come and assist him in rendering them happy. The Queen hastened to him. She has been at Mittau since the 4th of this month; she sees every consideration satisfied by her presence; and the wishes she hears expressed for her happiness prove to her the devotion and love for their masters entertained by the French who surround her.

On the day after the return of the Queen the King drove to meet Madame. The long and tedious journey had not impaired her strength: she was only suffering from the delay which still kept her at a distance from the King. As soon as the carriages drew near each other, Madame ordered hers to stop, and she quickly alighted; her companions wished to support her, but escaping from them with incredible rapidity, she ran through the clouds of dust towards the King, who with outstretched arms hastened to clasp her to his heart. The efforts of the King to hold her up could not prevent her from throwing herself at his feet. He hastened to raise her up, and she was heard to exclaim, "At last I see you and am happy; I am your child; watch over me and be my

father." Ah! Frenchmen, why were you not present to behold the tears of your King! You would have felt that he who sheds tears cannot be the enemy of anybody; you would have felt that your regrets, your repentance, and your love alone could have added to the happiness he experienced at that moment!

The King, without saying a word, clasped Madame to his bosom, and presented the Duke d'Angoulême to her. This young Prince, restrained by respect, could only express himself by his tears, which he let fall on the hands of his cousin as he pressed them to his lips.

They all got into their carriages again, and soon afterwards Madame arrived. As soon as the King saw those of his adherents who were hastening to meet him, he exclaimed, radiant with happiness, "Here she is!" and he led her to the Queen.

At that moment the Castle resounded with joyful acclamations. Everyone hurried to it; there was no longer any password, no longer any separation; it seemed to be only a sanctuary where all hearts were going to be reunited. Eager looks were fixed on the apartments of the Queen. Only after Madame had done homage to her Majesty did she, led by the King, present herself to our eyes, too full of tears to leave us any power of distinguishing her features.

The first movement of the King, when he saw the surrounding crowd, was to conduct Madame to the inspired man who said to Louis XVI., "Son of

Saint Louis, ascend into heaven!" He was the first to whom his Majesty presented Madame. Tears coursed down every cheek, and there was universal silence. To this first moment of gratitude a second succeeded. The King led Madame into the midst of his Guards. "Here," he said, "are the faithful Guards of those for whom you weep. Their age, their wounds, and their tears tell you all that I would fain express." He then turned to all of us, and said, "At last she is yours; we will never leave her; and we are no longer strangers to happiness."

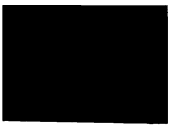
Do not expect me to repeat to you our wishes, our thoughts, and our questions; supply whatever is lacking, owing to the disorder of our feelings.

Madame retired to her rooms to acquit herself of a duty as dear as it was just—that of expressing her gratitude to H.M. the Emperor of Russia. From the moment she set foot in his Empire, she had received the noblest and warmest proofs of his interest, and the heart of Madame felt all that she owed to the august and generous heart to whom Heaven had entrusted the power, and confided the will, to succour unhappy kings.

After having fulfilled this duty, Madame asked for the Abbé Edgeworth. As soon as she was alone with this last consoler of the King, her father, her tears flowed in abundance, and her heart beat so violently that she nearly fainted. The Abbé Edgeworth was alarmed, and wished to summon assistance. "Ah!" said Madame, "let me weep with

you; these tears in your presence are a solace to me." She had then as witnesses only Heaven and him whom she regarded as its interpreter. Not a murmur escaped her heart; the Abbé only saw tears. I have this account from himself, and he allows me to narrate it. He knows that his modesty ought to yield to the necessity of making this pure and celestial soul known to all.

The royal family dined in private, and at five o'clock in the evening we had the honour of being presented to Madame. Not until then were we able to study her countenance. It seemed as if Heaven had wished to unite to freshness, grace, and beauty a sacred character, in order to render it dearer and more venerable to the French people, by retracing on her face the features of Louis XVI., Marie Antoinette, and Madame Elizabeth. These august likenesses are so great, that we felt the need of invoking those whom her face recalled to us.

These reminiscences and the presence of Madame seemed to unite heaven and earth, and every time she may wish to speak in their name her sweet and generous soul will compel every feeling to model itself by hers.

THE END.